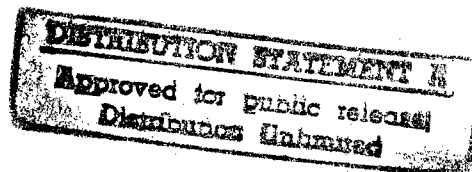


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## Near East/South Asia Report

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14 March 1984

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OPEC NATIONS RECORD DEFICIT FOR 1982

Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 4 Dec 83 p 6

[Text] The member nations of OPEC are still working to increase their share of the international trade in refined petroleum products as well as their share in the fleet of international tankers, in spite of the fact that they have suffered from a serious change in their balance of payments during 1982.

Official OPEC statistics indicate that during 1982 the members recorded a deficit in their balance of current securities payments of \$2.6 billion, in contrast to the surplus of over \$61 billion in 1981, and the reason for that is the reduced demand for oil during the recession, in addition to the fact that some non-OPEC nations such as Britain increased their production of oil.

OPEC exports of crude petroleum during 1982, 18.5 million barrels per day, declined on an average of about 23 percent from 1981 export levels, and OPEC's share of international trade in crude petroleum fell from 71.6 percent to 64 percent during 1982.

Among OPEC members, only Iran and Iraq increased their exports of crude petroleum during 1982. During 1982, refining activity fell from 6.23 million barrels a day to 5.41 million barrels per day.

However, exports of refined petroleum products increased from 1.8 million barrels per day to 2.12 million barrels per day, which led to an increase in OPEC's share of refined petroleum products trade from 21.8 percent to 24.6 percent.

The production of natural gas also decreased from 118.16 billion cubic meters to 108.48 billion cubic meters during 1982.

12547

CSO: 4404/293

TARIFF BARRIER PROPOSED TO PROTECT GULF INDUSTRIES

Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 13 Dec 83 p 7

[Text] Mr Muhammad Musa, the finance undersecretary in the Sultanate of Oman, announced that the standardization of customs tariffs in the Gulf Cooperation Council states within the framework of the unified economic agreement would help the countries in the operation of their ports and facilities without competition between them.

The Omani finance undersecretary said that the standardization of customs tariffs is only the first step towards Gulf economic unity.

He indicated that there is an inclination among members of the Council to create a customs barrier for their industries, if there arise new joint Gulf industries or industries in one of the countries that can satisfy the needs of the member nations and have the required specifications. Thus it would be possible to create a customs barrier to protect local production. This is done in all the industrialized nations and in the countries of the European Economic Community.

The representative of the treasury praised the establishment of the Gulf Investment Organization as one of the accomplishments of the Cooperation Council, and he said that it would give strong impetus to economic cooperation among the nations of the Council.

His excellency expressed his belief that there are no fundamental differences in the economic laws of the Cooperation Council states and he said that the Cooperation Council can look into any differences in these laws gradually in order to find similarities between them as a step towards their standardization in all the member nations.

12547

CSO: 4404/293

PRESIDENT'S PRESENTATION AT PARTY CONFERENCE EXAMINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 360, 14 Jan 84 pp 32-34

[Article by Muhammad al-Mili: "After the Fifth Conference of the National Liberation Front Party: Aspects of Renewal in the New Algerian State"]

[Text] The Fifth Conference of the National Liberation Front Party was held as scheduled between 19 and 22 December 1983.

President Bendjedid, in his capacity as secretary general of the National Liberation Front Party delivered a lengthy report which can be divided up in different ways depending on how it is viewed. It can be divided into political, economic and socio-cultural sections, or into a section that provides a comprehensive analysis of the past, another that presents a financial report of the accomplishments that have been achieved in all fields during the past 5 years, and a section that treats the horizons of the future in all fields.

Regardless of how we divide the report, it deals with a number of important topics that would be difficult for us to present in full. However, we will try to summarize some of the basic points that were pivotal to the above-mentioned report. In view of the number of these points on the one hand, and their importance on the other, we believe that it is possible to extract the basic trends in the report and summarize them as follows:

- 1 - An affirmation of normalization efforts in the context of constitutional institutions.
- 2 - Introduction of the concept of renewal in a way that ensures vitality without disrupting continuity.
- 3 - Presentation of a comprehensive educational plan that is considered a bold renewal and a brave vision that will open the field to innovation and educational and social projects that will be worked into the horizon of the coming century.



## Affirmation of Efforts To Normalize

Concerning the questions raised by the notion of an affirmation of normalization efforts in the context of constitutional institutions, we find that the points which embody this idea are clear in all parts of the report. The spirit of public commitment, which we felt and upon which President Bendjedid depends, is the same spirit we were exposed to when doing previous articles. The nature of the problems that are to be dealt with, the method of bringing these problems to the fore, and the proposed methods for treating these problems seek to surpass what little hidden discussion there was concerning some of the most important of these issues in the past.

The taboos that surrounded these issues were the result of realities whose beginnings are difficult to describe and not the result of frank directives and justifications. Although these widespread de facto taboos may have prevented dealing with these problems frankly and in public discussion, they did not prevent the occurrence of discussion in "the dark," if one may use this phrase. At a time when it appeared that some of the major problems had been solved previously, discussion was taking place simultaneously in the context of private councils. The result of this was a kind of "double standard" in political discussion. One would hear a comment or opinion in private meetings that was the opposite of what one would hear from the same person in official or semi-official meetings. It is said that this phenomenon is rampant in third world countries in particular. This is true, but it does not prevent the phenomenon from being an unhealthy one that leads to ineffectual political address and at the same time detracts from the credibility of official statements. Therefore, public political discussion becomes a kind of game, in which everyone tries to hide his "secret" while knowing all the while that his cards are exposed, because the key to solving the puzzle of political speech is known beforehand.

One of the questions that has been surrounded by taboos is the subject of the lack of auditing due to the lack, or freezing, of an oversight apparatus. In the speech given the first day of the conference, President Bendjedid referred to this point and spoke at length about it. He stressed that one of the factors contributing to deterioration was "the absence of organizations which has led to the lack of oversight and auditing."

The fact is that the deterioration that the secretary general of the National Liberation Front Party referred to has worsened, particularly since the extensive debate Algeria experienced in 1976 on the occasion of the presentation and discussion of the National Charter. At that time, the regime found itself confronting an extensive campaign that focused on criticizing some senior state officials through radio and television discussions and through other means directed at various groups observing the debate. Some of the criticisms cited numbers and facts that were easy to verify. At that time there was a prevalent general impression, especially in popular circles, that President Boumedienne had an important card that he would not hesitate to use, as prescribed in the National Charter, particularly after his inauguration as president of the republic after having been president of the revolutionary council. His authority now rested on the constitution in which the people trusted.

Regardless of the motives behind the late president's procrastination (there is no room here to discuss these motives), this procrastination was followed by a kind of despair and hopelessness among a number of strugglers. Also, it implanted the idea that there were people who were above the law. In light of this despair, many imagined that Boumedienne was controlled by centers of power that he did not want to free himself from or eliminate. Actually, it is now difficult to explain this point due to a lack of information. However, there are associates of the late president who were not involved who stress that Boumedienne, at that time, did not believe that the time was right to eliminate these centers of power, although he was against auditing and a settling of public accounts.

Based on this, it was not unusual that the interest of Algerian public opinion would be focused on this question at the beginning of 1979. It was considered a litmus test for the desire to change on the one hand, and the extent of change on the other. This is especially true since the resolutions of the Fourth Conference affirmed the necessity of auditing and the elimination of special privileges, something which necessitated a "normalization" in this field as well.

At that time a debate emerged between two basic trends: one demanded an accommodation of the mood for change, revitalization of the regime, and the elimination of special privileges; and the other called for a truce with the centers of power under the slogan of continuity on the grounds that fundamental change and accommodation of the demand for auditing could be depicted as a surgical operation aimed at removing the experiment which Algeria went through up to the end of 1978.

The fact is that this second trend did not consist of a harmonious group, but rather, it included a number of groups who, for different motivations, agreed on the demand for a truce.

Whatever the case may have been, an analysis of the steps taken by President Bendjedid and his effort to deal with this situation during the first phase of the last 5-year plan reveals that he has avoided falling into the trap of a truce. He has also avoided harsh treatment and complete elimination of the centers of power because this in itself would serve some of the aspirants who were betting on a transitional nature of the government on the one hand, and a short lifespan for it on the other. Therefore, Bendjedid chose to settle the issue in two stages: In the first stage the claws of some of the leaders of the centers of power were clipped by removing these people from executive positions, and in the second stage there was an effort to settle public accounts outstanding since 1962.

This gradual method of treating these problems explains to a large extent the inactivity of the Audit Council in the first years of the Bendjedid administration, in contrast to its activity during the past 2 years.

The fact is that the effort to settle public accounts outstanding since independence is aimed primarily at achieving two results: The first is to define the national wealth precisely; and the second is to create appropriate conditions and procedures for guiding progress, and to get officials to realize the extent of their responsibilities and the various positive and negative implications of them.

On this basis, there was an effort to contain the giant organizations and organize national companies more rationally by expanding their bases of productivity and distributing their staffs throughout production centers in the country rather than having them accumulate in offices in the capital. Also on this basis, there was an effort to guide international cooperation. President Bendjedid did not fail to point this out in his report to the Fifth Conference. The report stated that the number of foreign technical advisors was reduced from 11,000 in 1978 to 2,400 in 1982, but not at the expense of development projects. President Bendjedid also pointed out the positive aspects of the activation of the Audit Council when he said, "Based on this, we have decided to activate the Audit Council. We have also ordered that the various administrative auditing organizations be activated so that oversight does not continue to be a mere slogan, and so that these organizations can play their role as a deterrent that protects the staffs and the officials." He added, "There is no need to explain everything that has been achieved in this field in terms of settling public accounts, uncovering the nature of violations, and identifying violators without depending on rumors which poison the political atmosphere without achieving the goal of deterrence."

Needless to say, this effort was received with great pleasure in various popular circles because Algerian public opinion surmised from this that the image, which had prevailed for some time, that there were people above the law would be eliminated.

It is true that influence peddling and the resultant illegal and unethical practices will not be eliminated from any spot on earth by a mere application of the law. However, it is desirable that these cases be the exception, be illegal, and be susceptible to prosecution and punishment. These cases should not become acceptable behavior that is seen by the eye but ignored by the heart, and that is not acted upon by the authorities.

For these cases to become commonplace, and for silence to prevail about violations, even scandalous ones, would make dignity the exception that attracts attention or evokes sarcasm and ridicule.

The Algerian president pointed this out when he alluded to the phenomenon of doubt that has increased to the point that some of the steadfast strugglers had even begun to doubt themselves.

In this context, President Bendjedid explained his understanding of accountability when he stressed that the application of oversight and auditing does not mean a loss of confidence in officials and directors. He

also stressed that he had no personal grudges that he wished to settle with anyone. He emphasized that what was most important to him was to eliminate special privileges and normalize the situation so that the future can be confronted with clear vision, firm footing, and enlightened planning.

#### Ties with the Past in Framework of Dynamic Effort

The effort that the Algerian president authorized does not mean a break between the past and the present, and it does not mean that there is a retreat. He stressed in his report that, "Pointing out strong points...does not mean glorifying individuals. Similarly, pointing out a weakness or the nature of a mistake to a citizen does not mean that this person is being maligned or scorned, since everyone who works is susceptible to making mistakes. Rather, this means, first and foremost, that it is important to bolster strong points and back that which is positive. It also means analyzing the factors that led to the mistakes, finding measures that can be taken to avoid them, and acting differently in the future."

The last line of the preceding sentence is considered one of the keys to understanding and clarifying the nature of the Algerian president's effort. He has a strong desire to be linked to the spirit of November. This desire has prompted him not only to announce it in words, but to embody it by reconsidering the men of 1 November, the men of the revolution of liberation. On the anniversary of 1 November 1973, he invited the November alumni, the original strugglers, and former political leaders, regardless of their current situation, to attend the opening activities of the Fifth Conference. They occupied their seats on both sides of the great hall. It was truly an impressive sight, seeing those who embodied with their presence the continuity of the past and the present. This gave a special quality that strengthened the historical legitimacy of the regime and the roots of its constitutional legitimacy and healed what could be any remaining wounds.

It is worth noting in this regard what President Chadli achieved in this field as well. He issued directives for the retirement of members of the political leadership and their senior staff so that their honor will not be affected and they will be safe from contamination by tribalism and patronage. Not protecting the future of leaders with a clear law would make these leaders feel--even when receiving their pension--that the state is doing them a favor. Also, not clarifying the future of the senior staff members would push them toward corruption.

It is worth mentioning here that these directives were issued after the question of retirement for civil servants and all types of workers was settled in the context of the public labor law.

President Bendjedid pointed out the significance of these decisions when he said that they "are not special privileges as some may imagine, because they come in the context of a comprehensive effort concerning all workers who live from the fruit of their labors, whether they be manual or mental." He added, "Such an undertaking will undoubtedly allow for a secure future for strugglers, officials, and all senior staff members. It also represents an

acknowledgement of the services they have rendered to the country in the past. This undertaking will help shrink the remnants of political feudalism since it will eliminate the most important reason for special interest groupings which are formed in the absence of clear laws and sound traditions that establish the ethics of the state."

In conclusion, concerning the gains made by the Algerian regime at this Fifth Conference, President Bendjedid presented his evidence using a new method, avoiding dogma and fanfare. The Algerian president spoke for nearly 3 hours, explaining problems, proposing solutions, criticizing without injuring, presenting accomplishments without glorifying or aggrandizing himself, and defining the future with a vision that combines boldness with clarity.

Many that followed this presentation and read it after it was published undoubtedly came away with the impression that the foundations of a new era had been laid, and that the characteristics of a bold treatment of matters had begun to crystalize.

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## OPINIONS ON RESTORATION OF TIES WITH ARAB STATES EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 206, 21-27 Jan 84 pp 28-29

[Article: "The Next Arab Summit Conference Will determine Whether Egypt Will Return to the Arab Fold"]

[Text] Cairo--When the Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat arrived in Cairo on the morning of last 22 December most observers described his visit as the most important change in Egyptian-Arab relations since the question of Egypt's return to the Arab fold was raised 2 years ago. Concern over this issue was first raised when President Mubarak introduced his new position on Egypt's stance toward the Arab countries and Israel. Several days after he assumed office on 14 October 1981 there were renewed contacts between Cairo and most Arab capitals.

Since that time there has been talk about the imminent reestablishment of Egyptian-Arab relations. Over the past 2 years contacts between Egypt and the Arab countries have increased to unprecedented levels since the Arab boycott of Egypt began when the Egyptian-Israeli treaty was signed. These contacts have not been limited to the exchange of messages, but have included reciprocal visits at the ministerial level since the visit of Moroccan Foreign Minister M'Hamed Boucetta to Cairo on 7 June 1982. This was the first visit to the Egyptian capital by an important Arab official since the Camp David agreement was signed, with the exception of three countries which have maintained relations with Egypt--The Sudan, Oman and Somalia. This visit was followed by reciprocal visits by foreign ministers and ministers of economy in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon. President Mubarak made an unofficial visit to Riyadh on 14 June 1982 to offer condolences on the death of the late King Khalid ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz.

Mubarak also met with six Arab leaders during the non-aligned summit conference in New Delhi in March 1983. The last few months have also seen the resumption of full economic relations between Egypt and Iran, Lebanon and Jordan.

These developments in Egyptian-Arab relations have reached a level which allows us to ask the question: Why has the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Arab countries taken so long? This question has begun to take on increasing importance in view of the challenges confronting the Arabs together, particularly in the wake of the American move to commit itself

to the strategic cooperation pact with Israel. So why, then, are 18 Arab ambassadors still absent from Cairo, and 18 Egyptian ambassadors still absent from the Arab capitals? What relation does that have with the presence of the Israeli ambassador in Egypt or the continuance of the Camp David accords in general?

This question was put forth by AL-MAJALLAH to a number of Egyptian politicians. It received differing answers from them which can be classified into three main points of view.

#### An Arab Initiative Toward Egypt

According to the first point of view the return of Arab ambassadors to Egypt requires an Arab initiative toward Egypt. This point of view is based on two premises. First, the Arab countries have the final decision in this matter because it was they who severed relations with Egypt under specific circumstances. So it is they who will determine when the circumstances which led to that have ceased. Second, Egypt has shown complete readiness to reestablish relations. It has done all it can, openly as well as indirectly, and it is not yet able to do more than that.

Dr Mustafa Khalil, the National Democratic Party deputy chairman for foreign affairs, said: "Egypt welcomes any Arab country which wants to resume relations with it. The ball is in their court." His explanation for the delay in the reestablishment of these relations is that "the Arab countries believe that the decision to reestablish relations must be made by consensus, just as the decision to sever relations was made by consensus at the Baghdad conference."

Dr 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid, who headed the permanent Egyptian mission to the United Nations from early 1972 to the middle of 1983, added: "Egypt is not imposing conditions on the Arabs for reestablishing relations. It therefore will not accept any conditions imposed on it. Abrogation of Camp David cannot be a price for Egypt's return because it is not a question of barter. But let me emphasize that there is a new pervasive spirit in relations between Egypt and the Arab countries. I felt it myself during my visit to Kuwait in April 1982 to attend the meeting of the coordination agency of the nonaligned nations. I received an extremely warm welcome. This was natural and in keeping with the spirit of Arab generosity and with the true reciprocal feelings between Egyptians and Arabs."

But why haven't diplomatic relations been restored despite all that?

Dr 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid said: "There are ongoing, continual contacts between Egypt and the Arab countries. But with regard to diplomatic relations I say that the ball is now in the Arabs' court. It was the Arab countries who severed relations with Egypt, and it is they who will determine when to reestablish them. Egypt has done all it can do. The initiative is now in the hands of the Arabs." Despite that, Dr 'Abd-al-Majid emphasizes that he is optimistic "because of the new climate between Egypt and the Arabs, despite the continued existence of certain irritants such as the presence of the

Israeli ambassador in Cairo. This is natural and is not surprising. But I think that these irritants will cease gradually."

#### An Egyptian Initiative Toward the Arabs

According to the second point of view the initiative is now in Egypt's hands. Egypt can take decisive steps toward the Arab countries by abrogating Camp David or freezing relations with Israel. This view is based on the premise that the Camp David accords are dead, and there is nothing left to justify preserving them. The former Egyptian Foreign Minister Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil said: "It is no longer hard for us, 5 years after the Camp David accords, to say that they have not achieved a comprehensive and just peace. We now perceive that the ramifications resulting from al-Sadat's initiative have ended in triumph over private agreements between Egypt and Israel. The comprehensive peace has been reduced, and has turned into a separate peace between Egypt and Israel, while Arab land is still occupied by Israel. There is a crucial difference between a comprehensive peace enjoyed by all parties and the Egyptian-Israeli peace which has led to Egypt's isolation from the Arab World."

But can Egypt abrogate Camp David now? Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil answered: "The fact is that it is not an easy thing to renounce commitment to international agreements. Treaties are not canceled unless one of the parties violates its commitments. I believe that Israel violates its commitments to Egypt every day. But as far as the specific agreement regarding autonomy is concerned I see no reason to adhere to it because it was signed by Egypt for someone else. The principles of international law do not permit me to arrange commitments and restrictions for parties outside of any agreement without the approval of these parties. Therefore commitment to the autonomy agreement is not required because it does not represent a solution to the question of the Palestinian people."

This point of view was also expressed in recommendations issued by the second conference of the Socialist Labor Party on 22-25 December, but as a call for freezing Camp David, not abrogating it, as follows: "Israel's continued occupation of parts of Lebanon, its insistence on continuing to build settlements, and its hindering of Egypt's recovery of Taba call for more than merely withdrawing the Egyptian ambassador from Israel. They require severing diplomatic relations with Israel and freezing the Camp David accords after Israel's repeated violations of them."

But former Egyptian Minister Fathi Radwan, head of the Arab Organization for the Rights of Man, does not agree with the idea of freezing Camp David. He thinks that it must be scrapped completely. He said: "Freezing [Camp David] would provoke Israel and the United States without achieving the desired goal, specifically, Egypt's full return to the Arab fold. It is therefore better to renounce Camp David completely. But that must be preceded by making preparations to confront any Israeli or U.S. reaction to this renunciation." When asked what he meant by this preparation he said: "There are two related aspects to this preparation. First is an Arab commitment to provide Egypt with unconditional assistance to help it face the probable cessation or



reduction of U.S. aid which Egypt currently receives. Secondly, Egypt must work at improving its relations with the Soviet Union to ensure that it will obtain weapons as a precaution against any future Israeli movement in the Sinai."

Fathi Radwan emphasized that unless Camp David is abrogated after these preparations are made, it will be hard to speak about a true reestablishment of Egyptian-Arab relations. He said: "The existence of the Camp David agreement and Egypt's involvement with it are a big obstacle to restoration of these relations. I do not foresee Arab ambassadors returning to Cairo as long as the Israeli ambassador is there. If the Egyptian leaders accept sincere friendly advice they will try to extricate themselves from this involvement after making adequate preparations, as I have indicated."

### A Third View of Egypt's Return

But there is a third point of view which holds that it is not necessary to link the resumption of Egyptian-Arab relations with either an Egyptian or an Arab initiative. Justice Mumtaz Nassar, the leader of the independents in the Egyptian People's Assembly, said: "The question is not who will take the initiative or who will return to whom. Nevertheless, I say that the one who takes the initiative will deserve credit because we are all brother Arabs."

But how, then, will relations be reestablished? Mumtaz Nassar answered: "What is needed now is a meeting, either through Egypt or any other Arab country. I believe President Mubarak is prepared to go to any Arab country whenever he receives an invitation. He is not stubbornly insisting that any Arab leader come to him in Cairo. The real difficulty is that Egypt and the Arabs must proceed in a direction that will lead to solidarity. Otherwise the results will be bitter." Dr Hilmi Murad, secretary general of the Labor Party added: "In my opinion all obstacles can be overcome when there is an Egyptian-Arab summit meeting. That will make people more agreeable and the ranks will be unified. At that time each party can take additional steps toward cementing Arab solidarity."

But what about Egypt's commitment to Camp David and its effect on its Arab relations?

Hilmi Murad said: "As far as Camp David is concerned the part relating specifically to Egypt has in fact been implemented. It may be observed that the so-called normalization of relations has become frozen as a result of Israel's intransigent positions. As for the second part, which relates to the Palestinian question, it is completely frozen because the talks on that subject have reached a dead end. Therefore, from a practical standpoint, Camp David no longer really exists. We can extricate ourselves from the remaining stipulations of this agreement more easily and more securely after Egyptian-Arab relations have been restored and when we have the protection of Arab solidarity."

Thus the question remains: How are diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Arab countries to be reestablished? The answers to this question still

contain a kind of obvious difference of opinions. Dr Wahid Ra'fat, assistant chairman of the Wafd Party, said that this difference of opinion in and of itself is an indication that the expectations which have been circulating about the imminent reestablishment of Egyptian-Arab relations have been overly optimistic. According to him, this difference of opinion indicates that the situation is still unclear with regard to the formula by means of which Arab ambassadors will be able to return to Cairo and the Egyptian ambassadors will be able to return to the Arab capitals. Nevertheless, optimism also seems to be needed in view of the critical circumstances the Arab nation is now facing. The hope still exists, therefore, that the upcoming Arab summit in Riyadh in late March will produce a formula to prepare the way for the restoration of Egyptian-Arab relations.

Mr Mahmud Riyad, the former Egyptian foreign minister and former secretary general of the Arab League, explained his lack of optimism about bringing up a subject such as this at the Arab summit. He said: "From my actual experience at Arab summit meetings I am not very optimistic that we will produce any positive results if the subject of Egyptian-Arab relations is placed on the agenda of an Arab summit conference. The matter requires numerous contacts so that a clear understanding among the majority of the Arab countries can be reached in accordance with a precedent we used in the Arab League, in which each country was given the freedom to reestablish relations with West Germany. The league had issued a resolution severing relations with West Germany in 1965 because of its support of a huge arms deal for Israel. This is a good example and it can serve as a model for current circumstances. There should be an Arab understanding about leaving each Arab country free to decide whether or not to restore relations with Egypt. If we could achieve this understanding through contacts a motion could be made at the Arab summit to issue a decision in this matter. If the matter were to be brought up at the summit directly, without prior contracts, that would lead to an opposite effect because of the absence of a uniform opinion among all the Arab countries."

Because there is a great deal of realism in this view there is sufficient time to make contacts among the Arabs before the Riyadh summit, which has a special responsibility to save the current Arab situation, convenes. This summit will be the most decisive in the history of the Arab summits, which began in January 1964. The fortunes of the Arab question may depend on it for a long time to come. Several days ago Egyptian President Husni Mubarak stated that "Egypt has absolutely no hard feelings. If I am invited to the summit conference I will naturally go."

9123

CSO: 4504/169

STATUS OF TRADE RELATIONS WITH IRAQ DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 4 Dec 83 p 15

[Article: "Concerning Trade Relations Between Egypt and Iraq: The Egyptian Trade Center in Baghdad Will Be Reopened. It Will Be Represented by the Arab Company for Foreign Trade"]

[Text] During the visit by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the Egyptian minister of the economy, it was decided to reopen the Egyptian trade center in the Iraqi capital. It will be represented by the Arab Company for Foreign Trade. In addition, it was decided to reopen the Iraqi trade center in Cairo. All this will be done to strengthen and reinforce commercial and economic relations and ties between the two countries.

It should be mentioned here that the Egyptian booth at the Baghdad International Exhibition has elicited pleasure and praise on the part of all. It is considered to be a noble illustration of the importance of the Egyptian presence at all Arab gatherings.

The major credit for the success of the Egyptian booth, in terms of design and displays, as well as for the reopening of the Egyptian center in Baghdad must be given to the directives of Mr Mamduh Muhammad al-Misri, the chairman of the board of the Arab Company for Foreign Trade, and Mr 'Umar Mazlum, the center's director. These directives played an effective role in coordinating the Egyptian and Iraqi exhibition boards. The figures alone confirm that the ties between the two peoples are taking their proper place on the map of commercial relations. The value of the goods exported by the Arab Company for Foreign Trade to Iraq reached \$1.5 million for the period between 1 July 83 and 31 October 83. These exports included large selections of underclothes, yarn, and textiles.

The value of Egyptian exports sent by the company to Iraq is expected to reach \$9 million in the remaining months of 1983/84. The goods will consist of yarn, textiles, and underclothes. In addition, it is expected that reciprocal deals will be carried out with Iraq. The volume of these deals should reach \$35 million.

There is now an Egyptian commission in Iraq that can contract for the importation of sulfur and fertilizer, as set forth in the agreement. In addition,

in a few days an Iraqi delegation will arrive in Egypt to contract for Egyptian exports to Iraq, in accordance with the clauses of the agreement.

List of Goods Agreed Upon for Export From the Iraqi Republic  
to the Arab Republic of Egypt

<u>Material</u>	<u>Value (in \$U.S. million)</u>
1. Sulfur	3.0
2. Phosphate fertilizer	8.0
3. Raw and washed Arab wool	3.5
4. Raw hides (half tanned)	3.0
5. Paraffin lamps	1.0
6. Ground licorice root and dates	1.0
7. Fluorescent and ordinary light bulbs	.5

List of Goods Agreed Upon for Export From the A.R.E. to  
the Iraqi Republic Within the Framework of the Reciprocity Agreement

<u>Material</u>	<u>Value (in \$U.S. million)</u>
1. Cotton yarn	2.5
2. Cotton cloth, blended textiles, silk textiles, and linen textiles	14.0
3. Cotton underclothes for women, men, and children	3.0
4. Ready-made clothes for women, men, and children	6.5
5. Household items (sets of sheets and bedsheets) and linen goods	1.0
6. Bathrobes and towels	.500
7. Metallic (and porcelain) household goods	.500
8. Leather shoes	.250
9. Cigarettes	1.50
10. Table salt	.250
11. Canned vegetables (except for beans)	.250
12. Car frames	3.0
13. Wet cell batteries	1.5
14. Tent ropes	.250

Total

12224

CSO: 4504/174

## RESULTS OF TRADE TALKS WITH JORDAN DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 28 Dec 83 p 3

/Article by Raja' 'Abd-al-Malik: "The Jordanian Prime Minister: 'We Hope That Egypt Will Contribute to the Creation of a Climate That Will Assist the Consolidation of Arab Consensus'"

/Excerpts/ Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of economy and foreign trade, has prepared a report on the results of his trip to Jordan and his meetings there with high officials. The report is to be presented to President Husni Mubarak. The minister will also submit the results of his trip to Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the Prime minister. According to the report, the Jordanian side has agreed to the construction of a land road between the two countries. It also agreed to the founding of a shipping company that will run ferries between the ports of al-'Aqabah and Nuwayba' in the Sinai. Agreement was also reached on the details of the commercial agreement concluded by the two countries. The visit by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of the economy and foreign trade, to Jordan was not held merely to sign a trade protocol between the two countries. Rather, it came within the context of active maneuvering by Egypt in the region during these critical days in the life of the Arab nation. Now more than ever, the ranks of the Arabs must be closed and they must speak with one voice. Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id is not merely an economist. Rather, he is a politician of the first order. Therefore, he is the best person to undertake this difficult talk in the Arab states these days. The difficulty of this task came out in the tough questions asked by the journalists at the press conference he held there and in various interviews with him. His current tours of the Arab states are not merely intended to consolidate economic and trade relations between ourselves and these countries. Their political meaning goes beyond the mere signing of a commercial agreement. This was demonstrated by the great interest shown by the Jordanian news media in this visit, from the arrival of the Egyptian minister until his departure from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

The visit reflected the extent of the curiosity, and interest felt by the Jordanian news media for a visit by an Egyptian official. It also cast light on many matters that had been obscure and unknown to many people, for Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id explained them in his answers to journalists and in his many meetings there. He is quick-witted and comprehends quickly. His answers were realistic. At the same time, they were convincing and left no room for doubt.

This visit produced effective results in the area of improving commercial and economic relations between Egypt and Jordan. In this way, it was similar to his previous visit to Iraq. The minister will visit the Sudan and Morocco in the next few weeks.

The resumption of trade might come to be tantamount to the reconstruction of bridges between Egypt and these countries. The improvement of commercial and economic relations amounts to taking the first step across these bridges, which have been extended once again along the road of improving relations between ourselves and our brother Arab countries. The link between economics and politics is strong. By strengthening economic ties, we create the channels needed to produce a powerful political climate.

#### Details of the Commercial Agreement.

The commercial agreement concluded between the two countries calls for goods exchanged by the two states to be exempted from tariff fees. It also calls for each country to import from the other goods worth \$10 million annually. According to this agreement, work will continue on the trade centers in both countries. They will be supported with goods worth \$2.5 million annually, while exhibitions will be expanded to let each country know about the other's products, moreover, under an exemption from the guidance committees, Egyptian imports from Jordan will be treated like locally produced Egyptian goods with respect to tariff duties, production taxes, and consumption measures.

#### Founding of a Shipping Company

Dr Mustafa announced that in order to facilitate commercial exchange and strengthen the economic ties between the two countries, it had been agreed during his meeting with the Jordanian minister of transportation to link the Arab Republic of Egypt by means of both a land road and ferries plying the Gulf of al-'Aqabah. Egypt is now building roads in the Sinai. Thus, there is a direct route from Suez to the Taba area. The minister said that this road would be opened in the next few weeks. It will shorten the trip from Suez to Taba by no fewer than 80 kilometers. He said that this road would make the distance from al-'Aqabah to Cairo shorter than that from al-'Aqabah to 'Amman, since the distance from Cairo to al-'Aqabah will be only about 280 kilometers. He also said that he had agreed with the Jordanian minister of transportation to study the creation of a shipping company to run ferries between the port of al-'Aqabah and the port of Nuwayba' in the Sinai or any other suitable port to the north of Nuwayba'. He said that this company could be in the private sector, the public sector, or a joint company. The minister said, "It is understood that we will present this study to the Jordanian side, so that they can study it, agree to it, and determine their final opinion on the question of who should participate in it, in addition to deciding its capitalization and administration."

The minister added that this company would serve the flow of goods and persons, and not merely to Jordan. Rather, it could extend its operations to the countries to the west of Egypt, such as the countries of the Arab Maghrib and the Sudan. It could also extend its operations to the east of Jordan and go into all the countries of the Arab East, such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. The minister said, "We believe that this road has come to have vital importance with respect to stimulating trade and the transportation of persons from Suez over the new land road to the port of Nuwayba'. From there, they will go by ferry to the port of al-'Aqabah in Jordan, and vice-versa."

#### Increasing Flights

Dr Mustafa added that his talks with the Jordanian minister of transportation also dealt with the deposits of the 'Aliyah Company that have been held in Egypt. The matter was discussed, and it was decided to free them immediately. The same will hold true for transfers in the future. It was decided that 'Aliyah would obtain the deposits 6 months after claiming them. The situation is different for the other airlines working in Egypt, which are paid 11 to 12 months after placing their claims. Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id said that he also spoke with the minister of transportation about the possibility of increasing the number of flights made between the two countries by Egypt Air and the Jordanian company 'Aliyah. It was decided to schedule these flights during peak times, such as when the Egyptian workers in Jordan are on vacation, etc. It was agreed that there would be special arrangements that would be approved ahead of time. Thus, each company will have the right to increase the number of flights within certain limits without obtaining permission from the authorities of the other country for each individual flight. All this will be agreed to ahead of time.

#### Overcoming Obstacles

One of Dr Mustafa's numerous meetings was with Jordanian businessmen from the 'Amman Chamber of Commerce. Their questions for the minister focused on the new commercial agreement. The businessmen were afraid that the commercial agreement would not be implemented in the same spirit that had predominated when it was signed by the two countries.

The minister replied that there was nothing to fear. He confirmed that the same spirit that had predominated during the negotiations on this agreement would predominate during its implementation. He said, "The Jordanian Ministry of Trade can contact us to overcome any obstacles that might block implementation. It has been agreed to form a committee that will meet each 6 months to check up on the execution of the agreement and remove any obstacles in its way."

## A Large Economics Delegation

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id was accompanied on his visit to Jordan by a large economics delegation composed of 'Ali Najm, the deputy governor of the Egyptian Central Bank, Ahmad Wafa'-al-Din Sa'id, the representative of the Ministry of the Economy, Fakhri al-'Asi, the chairman of the board of the Bank of Alexandria, Kamal al-Hilali, the president of the al-Nasr Company for Exports and Imports, Husunah Hasib, chairman of the board of the Arab Real Estate Bank, Ambassador Eukhlis Qubbah, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hamzah 'Abd-al-'Al 'Abd-al-Janwad, general director of customs, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Jalil Radwan, the general director of the Department of Taxes, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Muhammad, the first secretary for commercial representation, Mahir 'Abd-al-'Aziz, another secretary for commercial representation, 'Aliyah Ihsan, the director of information in the office of the minister of the economy, and Muhtasim Rashid, the secretary of the minister of the economy.

## Egyptian Presence in Jordan

Speaking about the Egyptian presence in Jordan, 'Ali Najm, the deputy governor of the Egyptian Central Bank said: "We have two banks in Jordan. There is the Real Estate Bank, which has branches there that act as commercial banks. They do not merely make real estate loans, as is the case in Egypt. Then there is the Cairo-'Amman Bank, which is a joint bank owned by the Bank of Cairo and the Jordanians. It operates here in Jordan."

The deputy governor of the Central Bank of Egypt had this to say about the other side of things in the Arab Republic of Egypt: "In Cairo and Alexandria, there are branches of the Arab Bank Limited, which is one of the largest Jordanian banks. There is also Jordanian participation with a Sudanese bank within the framework of integration with the Sudan, in order to open branches in Cairo. This serves to support commercial and economic exchange between the two countries."

Ahmad Wafa'-al-Din Sa'id, the representative of the Ministry of the Economy and the chairman of the technical committees at the commercial talks that took place between the two countries, had this to say about the development of commercial relations between Egypt and Jordan: "The talks with the Jordanian side took place in the context of the agreement that was concluded in 1967 and amended with six protocols. Finally, complete tariff exemptions were granted to all goods traded by the two states, with the exception of tobacco and cigarettes, for which only a 20 percent exemption was granted." He said that the situation remained like that until commercial relations between the two countries ceased in 1979. The interruption lasted until last April, when an authorized representative of the Jordanian Ministry of the Economy visited Egypt. Talks began on restoring commercial and economic relations between the two countries to the best level they had reached before the embargo.



#### Branch of the al-Nasr Company

The Arab Republic of Egypt has a commercial branch in 'Amman that belongs to the al-Nasr Company for Exports and Imports. This branch began its activity in 'Amman in 1968. However, its activity was frozen from 1978 to 1982 in accordance with the circumstances of the Arab boycott of Egypt.

Kamal al-Hilali, the president of the al-Nasr Company for Imports and Exports and member of the delegation, had this to say: "The branch's activity did not stop all during the period of the boycott. However, it undertook some commercial operations at different times, such as international operations. After all, the company was eager to maintain the economic presence of the Arab Republic of Egypt in Jordan. The branch has contributed to the development of commercial relations between Egypt and Jordan in the past." He said that it had done \$6 million worth of business in 1976, before the boycott, and that it was expected to do more in light of the new agreement.

#### Finally:

This is the final result of the visit made by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id to Jordan, the concrete progress in economic and commercial relations between the two countries reflected by the visit, and the bridges built by it on the road to better political relations between the two nations in the very near future, with God's permission.

12224

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## GAINS FROM PEACE TREATY QUESTIONED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 Dec 83 p 12

[Article by 'Adil Mustafa: "6 Years After the Peace Initiative: What Has Egypt Gained From the Initiative? What is the Comprehensive Evaluation of It?"]

[Text] Six years have passed since the peace initiative, which caused a surprising and adverse shift in the flow of events in Egypt and the Arab world. The initiative bore the name "peace". Did it bring peace? It took place for the sake of prosperity. Did it bring prosperity? It took place for the sake of the Arab cause. Has the Arab cause been concluded? We leave the answers to all these questions to men who have experienced this process from the beginning and taken pains to clarify their positions on it. They are men who do not belong to the parties or political currents. Rather, each one of them has an independent opinion on the matter.

Mr Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil, the former foreign minister, had this to say: "Now that 6 years have passed since the peace initiative, it is no longer difficult for us to say that it has not achieved what it set out to do initially. The peace initiative was undertaken in order to realize a comprehensive and just peace in the region and bring about the application of the international resolutions. That is, Israel was supposed to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and recognize the right of the Palestinian people to their own state and self-determination. Now we perceive the results of the fact that the peace initiative has abandoned, realistically speaking, the achievement of comprehensive peace. It has limited itself to special agreements between Egypt and Israel and other agreements dealing with peace in the Middle East. This comprehensive peace has contracted and become a peace between Egypt and Israel alone. The Arab territories are still under Israeli occupation. The Palestinian people still suffer from the failure to achieve their national rights and set up their state. There is a vital difference between the two kinds of peace. One is an Arab-Israeli peace to be enjoyed by all parties, and the other is an Egyptian Israeli peace. It has led to the isolation of Egypt from the Arab world. The relationship between Egypt and the Arabs is organic and important. The Arab states gain strength when Egypt is present, as does Egypt when it is with them. As a result of the sharpness of Arab conflicts, all the Arab states have grown weaker, including Egypt. They have no influence now, despite their capabilities. Moreover, Israel has turned out to be the beneficiary of this situation. Egypt's hands are bound by peace, and Israel has exploited this fact

by refusing to withdraw from the Arab territories and following a policy of Judaization in the occupied territories. It has also invaded Lebanon and taken other well known steps. All this is due to the fact that the peace initiative did not advance the realization of comprehensive peace at all. It was limited to a solution between Egypt and Israel.

"Nevertheless, I say that to give up one's commitment to international agreements is not an easy matter. Agreements cannot be torn up unless one of the parties breaks his commitments. I believe that Israel breaks its promises every day. With regard to the agreement dealing with the Palestinian issue, I do not know any reason for clinging to it because it is an agreement signed by Egypt in the pace of other parties. These parties were the Palestinians and the Arabs. This signing amounted to meddling in the face of the rejection of the agreement by those concerned. The rules of international law do not permit me to set up commitments and limits for parties outside the agreement without their agreement. There is no reason to hold on to the autonomy agreement, because it does not represent a solution to the issue of the people. This issue can only be resolved by the creation of a state and self-determination."

The newspaper writer Mahmud 'Iwad, who works for the newspaper AKHBAR AL-YAWM and is a member of the board of directors of the Journalists Union, had this to say: "The decline of the Arab world began with Egypt alone, and its renaissance will come only from Egypt. From the point of view of the supporters of the Sadat treaty, what is happening in the Arab world is a punishment for its separation from Egypt. They think Egypt does not need the Arab world. I say nothing humiliates Egypt as does the theory repeated by these people. They reduce Egypt's standing and they are holding to a theory which is non-existent. They say it is the nature of the Arabs to be disunited."

"However, anyone who studies history knows that the rise of the Arab world to the heights or its descent to the depths was a process constantly linked to Egypt. All this is linked to the extent to which Egypt is aware of its leading and geographical position in the Arab world. In the moments when Egypt has led the Arab world, it has risen. All the Arab liberation and independence movements during the last 30 years began with Egyptian awareness and participation. I do not exempt each individual Arab state from its responsibility. However, the elder brother always bears the greatest responsibility. The beginning of the Arab awakening will start in Egypt."

"I have been optimistic, especially in the last 2 years. I think Egypt has begun to realize the enormity of the role that has been stolen from it for the sake of Israel. Therefore, Egypt is now experiencing a period of convalescence, so that it can take back the role it lost for nothing. The Arab renaissance will begin with an Egyptian initiative and Egyptian intellect. This historic and geographical responsibility belongs to Egypt. As for the relationship between the initiative and the development of the Palestinian issue, elements of Palestinian disunity have always been present inside the Palestinian movement. However, Egypt's ability to lead the Arab nation used to heal this disunity."

Muhammad Salman, who is a journalist working for AL-AHRAM and a member of the board of directors of the Journalists Union, had this to say: "The initiative represents the most negative point in the entire policy of the previous president. The parties to the peace policy in the Middle East--Egypt, Israel, and the United States--committed a serious mistake when they imagined that what al-Sadat signed would become a fait accompli. As experience has shown, 6 years after the peace initiative, it cannot be seen to have any effect on the real situation, at least in my view. Israel is complaining today about the lack of Egyptian tourists there. It accuses the Egyptian government of preventing them from coming. This is not true. No matter what obstacles may stand in the way of travel to Israel, the people truly refuse to travel there. Yes, there are signed agreements, but where is the normalization? How can the government, the previous political leadership, America, or Israel force me to invite the Israeli ambassador to my home? If we turn aside from all the negative aspects of the initiative and the peace policy, we will find that the basic operational significance lies in the fact that this policy has depended essentially on satisfying the political leadership, without a popular basis. The Egyptian people have a hidden feeling of hostility toward the Israelis. This contradicts completely with what was signed at Camp David. This enmity confirms the invalidity of the plebiscites and false manifestations that were carried out to demonstrate the existence of popular support for this policy. After 6 years, the absence of popular support for this initiative has been proven. This indicates that a decision taken in an undemocratic manner must die. It is strange that America, which proclaims democracy loudest of all, cooperated with al-Sadat with regard to Camp David in a manner that had nothing whatever to do with its championing of democracy. They said peace and separation from the Arabs would solve all our problems as a result of the termination of the state of war. The strange thing is that military expenditures during the war amounted to no more than 30 percent of the total budget, while in the last budget approved by al-Sadat they amounted to 37 percent. Thus, the excuse based on military expenditures is invalid. The front has shifted from the east to the west, and an artificial enemy has been constructed in whom the people do not believe."

Dr Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim, of the College of Economics and Political Science at the University of Cairo, has this to say: "The peace initiative took place in the context of the al-Sadat era, which can be divided into four policy phases:

- The open door policy
- The policy of controlled, legislated democracy
- The alliance with the West, especially the United States
- The policy of reconciliation with Israel

There is an organic link between these policies, and they cannot be divided. By means of them, President al-Sadat wanted to change everything that had existed from 1952 until the death of President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir in 1970. In the beginning, it was said that the open door policy and the alliance with the West would cause a resurgence in the Egyptian economy, develop production, and allow the country to obtain Western technology. However, by 1977 nothing of the kind had happened. Then it was said that one of the main reasons for this was the state of war. Consequently, the peace process was a step taken to complete the open door economic policy and the alliance with the West. This process was

pictured as being the final and necessary condition for the coming of prosperity. The year 1980 was earmarked as the beginning of the recovery. The peace policy was quite mistakenly depicted this way in the minds of the people, while the state of war was linked with Egypt's economic problems. This point has been greatly exaggerated.

"Moreover, the people were told that the signing of the peace treaty would diminish military spending, and that Egypt's escalating problems were all due to the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is wrong, as is shown by the fact that when Egypt left this struggle, the problems did not disappear. In this way, the peace initiative was envisioned as being the key to solving all the problems that had not been solved by the open door policy and the alliance with the West. In the end, this led to a muddling and weakening of values. Rather than falling, military spending has increased. This is necessary, since Israel will continue to be our principal and historic enemy.

"Among the social and cultural effects of picturing the peace policy in this way is the fact that there are two generations in Egyptian society that suffer from muddled thinking. The generation now in its 20's grew up and was educated to think of Israel as the Israeli enemy. They know it was Israel that usurped Arab land and deprived an Arab people of its territory. They know it is an expansionist state and see daily proof of that. However, the state's media tell them that Israel has changed, or that it might change, while the material evidence points to the opposite conclusion.

"This fact is creating a lack of credibility or a crisis of trust to arise between this generation and the agencies of the state. As for the children, they are receiving differing signals from their textbooks. They study and go over the October War. When they ask questions, we have to tell them the historical truth. At the same time, they hear praise for the peace treaty. At this point, we cannot answer them in a way that will satisfy our consciences. This means that they are led astray. If we answer them in a conscientious fashion, this will create a contradiction in the information they receive in school. The children represent a generation suffering from early confusion. Consequently, generations will arise that will be afflicted by schizophrenia. They see Israel's actual practices, while the news media and educational institutions tell them something else. Another social effect is the laxity one finds everywhere. There are no objective reasons for it. The body of Egyptian society has thus become fat and swollen."

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IDEOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC MOTIVES BEHIND NATION'S NONALIGNMENT SURVEYED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 2, 9, 16, 23 Jan 84

[Article by Fathi Ghanim: "Egypt's Security"]

[No 2899, 2 Jan 84 pp 13, 14]

[Text] The best definition of security is that which appears in the Arabic language. Security is the opposite and antonym of fear. That is, what infringes on the nation's security are present or likely dangers or threats which, when they escalate, provoke citizens' fears for their nation.

The nation's participation in the feeling of security or fear requires permanent vigilance, lest people's feelings become alienated, views become fragmented and the causes of differences or schisms among the members of the nation proliferate to the point where they no longer agree over the reasons for danger and fear, or the causes of security and confidence. Such a dispute weakens the identity of the nation and does not help it cope with dangers and eliminate causes of fear through the efforts of its entire people.

For national security, a kind of general agreement which is protected by a strong, homogeneous public opinion on the notion of security must exist among all citizens.

The reasons for the dispute, which cause chaos in the society and create peripheral forms of aberration which result in alienation and incompatibility among citizens, are numerous. There is nothing wrong with disagreement, conflicts in opinions, or clashes in interests; there is no human society in which people agree in a comprehensive manner which leads to total harmony among people's opinions and feelings. In fact, that sort of notion is almost contradictory with the nature of life, and negates the causes for the development of life, which are based on an unceasing process of repudiation of the old and adoption of the new.

However, disagreement that escalates to the point where all the people, in the depth of their disputes, forget that above every dispute there is pressing need for interaction and homogeneity to ward off fear and realize security for everyone in their common nation does provoke fear and subject the security of the citizen and the nation to real danger.

The security of the nation is above all disputes over opinions and clashes of interests. It is the notion that concerns every civilized people that is aware of the close relationship between its own interests and the interests of everyone in attaining security for the nation.

Sometimes this relationship is lost on people because of an interest in great causes over which people's feelings are mixed and their thoughts are in conflict, and the citizen does not see the points of danger to his country's security.

For instance, the call for Arab nationalism is a proper call, and one based on a sound vision of the Arab present, through the understanding of its history and past experiences, and a study of the means for realizing its goals in the future; nonetheless, in spite of the soundness of the call for Arab nationalism and unity, we have become implicated in attempts or adventures in which we have forgotten our "foremost" need, to support and guarantee the soundness of the "nation" and develop the "citizen," and have gone beyond "Egypt" and the relationship between the "Egyptian" and his nation, "Egypt," to enter into a more complicated stage in which we have forged bonds between the Egyptian, as an Arab, and the Syrian or Iraqi, as an Arab, have been attracted by the new vision of Arab unity, as we imagine it and dream of it, and not as it is in reality, and have not, in the process, realized that we are prematurely and unjustifiably suspending the citizen's loyalty to Egypt in exchange for an embryonic, unclear loyalty to a single nation which has not yet been formed in a manner which might guarantee its survival.

Experience has proved that this sort of diffusion of loyalties between nationalism and pan-nationalism has not stood up in practice. Egypt merged with Syria and the two split up. Egyptians united with Syrians and Iraqis, and a schism erupted among their political leaders. Attempts at union were made between more than one Arab country and another, in particular the attempts which Libya made. However, none of these led to the attainment of security, in the sense of dispelling doubts that have escalated to the point of fear of a clash between Arabs! In Egypt, in spite of the promotion of the slogan of Arab nationalism, there still are people who say "I am an Egyptian, not an Arab," in Syria or Iraq there still are people who say "I am Assyrian, Phoenician or Alawite," and in Algeria or Morocco there still are people who say "I am a Berber and not an Arab."

There is no doubt that we are in a better position regarding the ability to evaluate our experiments in establishing Arab unity today. That does not mean the repudiation of Arab nationalism or Arab affiliation; rather, the discussion of the issue of Arab nationalism must be in the context of a proper concern which takes priority, and that is Egypt's security. As they say, there is no advantage to anyone who cannot know his own strength; the Egyptians must be able to defend themselves and their nation so that they can defend Arabhood and Arab unity. Rallying around Egyptian security, in the attempt to find it through Arab unity and Arab nationalism, and turn the issue of security from primarily a national one to a supranational one, is to leap from the issue into a void or into something unknown, ending, as was the case in our experience with Syria, in the setback of the secession.

As far as security goes, the matter is not confined to the issue of supranationalism; rather, religious belief also requires that we deal with security most devoutly and understandingly at a time in which we are aware of the dangers of confusing belief with security.

As for Egyptians who link Egypt's security with a single belief and deprive Egyptian people who have beliefs different from theirs of the honor of defending their country, Egypt is for the Egyptians and the defense of Egypt is for all Egyptians.

Innumerable problems and dangers have been caused by confusing belief and security; in the history of Islam, this began in the era of the upright caliphs and has not ended yet. Armies of Moslems under the command of Mu'awiyah fought armies of Moslems under the command of 'Ali. Since that time, there have been ceaseless struggles and combat among Islamic peoples and Moslem emirs and sultans. At the same time, Islamic creeds and groups have proliferated to the point where it has been said that they number more than 70, all of which will go to hell except for one, which is the one that is to be spared hell. This sort of statement shows us the degree and intensity of religious disputes in Islamic societies and it means that it is very hard, indeed out of the question, for us to imagine that we can check the security of the nation or defer attention to it so that we can first of all devote ourselves to eliminating the sectarian and ideological disputes which we have inherited over hundreds of years.

Adherence to Islam and the defense of Islamic law, and the Moslem's exercise of his belief in full, are matters that one cannot argue with. In addition, adherence to the Coptic Church and its teachings, and the Copt's exercise of his belief and the rituals of worship in the church, are something whose sanctity may not be infringed. However, it is not at all proper to mix these sacred rights with defense of the security of the nation and the deterrence of fear of a probable attack on the nation. That is the notion for whose sake Copts have fought alongside Moslems, as Egyptians, against foreign invaders. Some of those invaders were Moslems, some were Christians and some were Jews. Egyptians defend the security of Egypt and Arabs defend the security of Arabhood.

Since the 1919 revolution, Egypt has discovered the proper formula for security in the motto "religion is for God and the nation is for all," a motto which does not negate the history of the Copts who fought the "Christian" state of Byzantium before the emergence of Islam and allied themselves with the Moslems as Egyptians in defending the Egyptian nation against the invasions of the Crusaders. The nation belongs to all Egyptians, Moslems and Copts.

The arguments which demand that the nation's security be linked to one given belief, specifically, and not to any other, in reality means nothing more than linking security to the power of a given policy, because the proliferation of religious beliefs in more than one current, Sunnite, Shiite or inner or manifest Sufi, is a reflection of geographic political communities. The Islam of Khomeyni is different from the Islam of al-Yazidi, the Islam of al-Tijani, and so on and so forth, from the standpoint of political views and interests.



Christian Europe endured many struggles in the name of the Christian religion. They were in reality political struggles for power. Because of them, religious reform or political liberation movements arose in various forms, in the name of religion, as anyone reviewing the history of the Protestants, the Huguenots and so forth will realize.

The security of the nation, then, is linked to the refusal to confuse the issue of security with the sacred right to engage in a religious belief.

However, the matter is not restricted to the national cause, or the exercise of belief. There also is the issue of political belief, or political ideology.

It is not right that we should confuse the issue of security with political or class affiliation. The traditional struggle in our present era is between capitalism and communism.

Communism calls for internationalism and for links between communist parties and the working class. It calls for the dictatorship of the proletariat in an international alliance among all workers against capitalism and world imperialism. This of necessity leads to a lack of loyalty to the nation and a lack of feeling for its security, because the sense of security is directed toward the security of the working class. Fears are not concerned with dangers to which the nation is exposed but rather to dangers to which the communist parties are exposed.

In the case of a struggle among political beliefs, not all the citizens in the same country feel fear in the face of the same event. What rich people or capitalists might consider to be a threat to security is in the view of communists the preservation of security!

It is necessary to support a common feeling and sense of security among all citizens of various political beliefs. That does not mean that we should prohibit ideologies or the freedom of opinion; one right that is guaranteed to man is freedom of political belief. However, there is a condition which we cannot ignore, and that is not to confuse the citizen's freedom to exercise his political rights with the notion of the nation's security.

In other words, the Egyptian should have the right to call for capitalism or socialism, or even endorse communism, but within limits which do not infringe on the nation's will to freedom and defense of its own security. Many experiences among countries that have embraced communism have proved that political belief is not stronger than nationalism in moments when the country is exposed to danger and the fear of facing attacks from enemies.

The experiences of Communist Yugoslavia have shown us that it has refused to sell its security or expose its independence to the dangers of incorporation into the communist bloc.

The experience of Communist China has shown us that in the course of preserving an independent national will, China has clashed with attempts at "hegemony" on the part of the Soviet Union. Indeed, experience has shown us

that the Soviet Union itself, during World War Two, in the face of the threat of Hitlerite invasion, was forced to encourage Russian nationalism, and Stalin permitted the opening of churches and the exercise of religious observances in them on a broad scale, because the security of Russia, or the Soviet Union, was threatened with danger. This security is more important than anything the theories of Marx, Lenin and Engels have advocated!

Even if we do not confuse security with national issues, religious beliefs, or political ideology, we still have to deal with force or dominance on the part of an enemy or adversary, and that requires additional discussion. Until a later article.

[No 2900, 9 Jan 84 pp 8-10]

[Text] The most serious danger facing our nation's security is that which derives from the strength of the enemy or adversary, whose force tempts him to attack us to impose his will on us and take away our freedom and national independence.

The scholar Ibn Khaldun talked at length about the security of nations in confronting hostile invading armed forces. The principles the Islamic Arab thinker codified in the eighth Islamic century, or the 14th Christian century, are still valid to this day, and contemporary sociologists, philosophers of history and professors of political science acknowledge them.

Ibn Khaldun spoke in great detail about the ways in which countries dominate one another. He considered that a nation whose people are not familiar with prosperity, habits of ease or welfare of living is able to dominate its counterparts, with which it is not on a par in terms of other circumstances such as population density, economic power and so forth.

It is in the nature of any human society, in Ibn Khaldun's view, to try to dominate other foreign societies that compete with it. The state itself is established after a struggle among the tribes or families in the society, when the larger tribe, or the tribe with greater coherence, wins over the other tribes, and forms a bigger coherent unity with them in which all the coherent units are joined together, and this process is repeated until a greater single coherent unit arises out of which the state and its leading unit are formed.

The law of dominance applies to society within a single state, just as it applies to societies in various states. There is a constant struggle among forces to dominate one another.

Ibn Khaldun considers that the defeated party is obsessed with emulating the party that has defeated it, and the defeated party tries to imitate the force of the party that overcame it. It reiterates its slogans, wears its clothes, is influenced by its ideas, imitates them in its conditions and customs, and is fascinated by its weapons.

The defeated person's feeling of security is shaken, he deludes himself, and he justifies his defeat on grounds that the force which overwhelmed him and

made him lose his security is a force which has reached a level of perfection, and he tries to retrace its steps.

In reality, no conqueror has reached a level of perfection; every conqueror achieved his victory not because he reached perfection and became a higher example, but simply because he possessed strength, bravery and energy and had the homogeneity of population that gave him the ability to attack others and overcome them. Woe to the person who is conquered, because, after his defeat, he becomes a slave, hope deserts him, despair overcomes him, he becomes languid and the feeling of frustration dwells in him. Consequently, his inability to defend himself increases, he loses the security of his country, and the people of the country may be subjected to annihilation!

Security, therefore, is intimately linked to power, in its simplest and most serious form, that is, armed force. The need for that, as Ibn Khaldun says, is greater than the need for thinkers and writers, the men of the pen, when the establishment of the state begins. In this period, the men of the sword are more important than the men of the pen. The need for men of the sword also becomes intense when the state is weak and is afflicted by elements of old age, which afflict countries as they afflict people. At this point it becomes necessary for the state, in its final days, until it ends, to rely on the men of the sword to provide it with security for the longest possible period before the enemies seize on the weakness which has befallen the state as an opportunity to hasten to deliver the final blow to it.

During the period which elapses between the establishment and growth of the state on the one hand and its end on the other, the state must do without the men of the sword to some extent and direct attention to economic, financial and legislative aspects. Here the need for the men of the pen, that is, the men of ideas, stands out, so that the state may realize a period of stability in which industries prosper, the state collects taxes, conditions become stable, and people orient themselves toward welfare, indeed sometimes become engulfed in luxury. This in turn furnishes circumstances where the elements of corruption and decline may become active within the society so that it loses its security and the end comes! To Ibn Khaldun, nations, like men, have lives; they have periods of youth, periods of old age, a beginning and an end.

These are some of the rules Ibn Khaldun drew up on the importance of "force," the causes of "dominance," and instances of victory or defeat in societies and nations. We can observe that there is nothing in international relations that is parallel or equal to the "legitimacy" of the regime which convinces the masses in the state to be loyal, to belong and to carry out laws without resorting to methods of oppression and the use of force. The security of the "citizen" is realized to a high degree within the nation in the context of the regime, whose legitimacy is won through the masses' conviction in it and loyalty to it. However, the security of the "nation" is not realized just through the nations' and international communities' conviction of the principles of the United Nations charter or the rules and principles which countries have become acquainted with, known as general international law, which regulates international relations in cases of peace, war or neutrality, since the provisions of international law and the

principles of the United Nations charter become mere ink on paper when one international power thinks that it is able to "overcome" one of its international adversaries or considers that it is in its power to invade a neighboring country and take it over with its armies without being deterred by international punishment, or a countervailing force that stands up to it and is able to repel the aggression.

The law of force and dominance still prevails in the international community and governs the security of nations, in spite of all the appeals for international peace and cooperation that philosophers and politicians call for and intellectuals propound. Therefore, the greatest power becomes the one which owns the greatest military arsenal in the world and has the last word and control over the affairs of international politics. Therefore, also, the security of nations, indeed the security of the whole world, is now connected to the will of the country which has nuclear bombs and can launch a nuclear electronic war with the most modern methods and technological innovations that modern science has devised.

A result of that now is that the two greatest nuclear powers in the world have polarized and dominated human societies over tremendous areas of the planet and thus have formed two great political blocs in the world which monopolize the markets of force and arms. They are the bloc of the United States of America and the bloc competing with it, its obdurate adversary the bloc of the Soviet Union. Around these two powers the processes of attracting, polarizing and dominating peoples and the wills of rulers in smaller and less powerful countries take place. The latter consider, in the name of realism or out of resignation to the compelling circumstances which they are passing through, that they must join or align themselves with one of the two blocs, the capitalist bloc, the bloc of Western civilization, or the communist bloc.

Egypt, for the sake of its own security, has engaged in the experience of relations with both blocs. In the era of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and afterward many developments occurred in the relationship of "strategic friendship" with the Soviet Union, the latest of which was the tragedy of June 1967. After the 1973 war, and the military achievement that was realized in the course of it, the way was paved to promote diplomatic efforts, and al-Sadat chose to establish relations of friendship with the United States of America, while relations with the Soviet Union waned, then were suspended.

Perhaps Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's statements as he explained Egypt's position on the Israeli forces occupying Sinai and the East Bank of the Suez to the general national conference of the Arab Socialist Union in 1969 will demonstrate to us the importance to Egypt's security of armed force and the importance of obtaining arms and becoming trained in them, with reliance on foreign experts belonging to a great power. Here are 'Abd-al-Nasir's words; we can read them today in the light of the experiences that we have gone through in order to see how the great power's political bloc can influence plans to provide security for the nation. 'Abd-al-Nasir says:

"First, the Soviet Union supplies us with the weapons we need. Directly after the aggression we managed, in a short time, to obtain quantities of arms

which could help us cope with any Israeli action. If it had not been for these arms we would not even have reached a position where we would be able to deter the enemy.

"Second, the United States of America and its allies, that is, the Western alliance, are the ones that are supplying Israel with arms. We need arms to defend our countries and liberate our occupied territories. Supplying Israel with arms means one thing, namely, encouraging it to continue its aggression and provoking it to hold onto the gains it has made through aggression.

"Third, the Soviet Union offers us the arms we need without pressure on our present financial resources. We have not yet paid a single millieme.

"Fourth, when weapons in the world are supplied by a country, and not through the process of smuggling, that is not commerce; rather, that is linked firmly to the policies of the countries supplying arms, and it is not reasonable that a country give another country arms which are in conflict with its policy. I would like to say clearly that assuming that we had the hard currency, foreign currency, to buy arms, if that could be arranged, and we went to Washington or London to ask to buy them, we would never get any of them, and the evidence before us is irrefutable.

"Fifth, from the standpoint of our national independence in itself, indeed, from the standpoint of our existence, basically and fundamentally, our being supplied with arms from the Soviet Union is an assured guarantee and a sole open door."

Anwar al-Sadat raised points similar to these five points which 'Abd-al-Nasir talked about, though he substituted the United States for the Soviets. While 'Abd-al-Nasir said that if he went to Washington with the money with which to buy arms, it would refuse him, Anwar al-Sadat said that he went to Moscow, and it refused to replenish his weapons in the October war. While 'Abd-al-Nasir reiterated that his need for Soviet arms was motivated by maintaining his existence in the face of a threat to survival, that is, that the motive was not a political ideological involvement with the Soviets, al-Sadat asserted that more than 90 percent of the cards for resolving the question and regaining the land were in the hands of the United States and therefore necessity made it mandatory that the severed diplomatic relations with the Western political bloc and its leader the United States be restored. While 'Abd-al-Nasir said that the Soviets had not yet taken a millieme, al-Sadat said that the Soviets refused to schedule the debts and asked for the price of the arms.

While 'Abd-al-Nasir underlined the importance of the Soviet experts, al-Sadat expelled those experts. However, he had to continue training the armed forces, and therefore joint training and joint maneuvers were held with American or British forces.

The reliance on arms shifted from one great power to another and from one political bloc to another. In any case, the justification was the defense of national independence and the maintenance and preservation of Egypt's security.

What have the two experiences done for us? This is the question which needs to be given an answer founded on realistic bases and not affected by impulsiveness or partiality in which the interests of people or a class that want to belong to one of the two blocs and rely absolutely on it for matters of national defense dominate. In addition, there are people who call for regional blocs, and there are people who call for nonalignment. What is our evaluation of all these positions?

[No 2901, 16 Jan 84 pp 16, 17]

[Text] Some people consider that Egypt's security is linked inextricably to the capitalist bloc and the leader of this bloc, the United States of America. The people who hold this opinion give as evidence of the validity of their position the fact that we need arms, expertise and training and that we cannot protect our country by hopes, speeches and poems or defend it by moralistic international positions, none of which have any weight in the face of arms which spew forth lava from land, air, sea, or satellites in space. Between the two great powers, we can have confidence only in the United States. Even if we have to choose between the lesser of two evils, let it be the hell of the Americans and not the heaven of the Russians!

Japan, the great industrial country which has occupied a position of prominence in international markets, still is compelled to rely on the strategic protection which the nuclear umbrella of the United States provides. Without this protection, Japan will be afflicted with many "fears" that will finish off the country's security in coping with the Soviet bear with its nuclear teeth which still occupies a Japanese island to the north and has been holding onto it since World War Two.

Some people who reject the thinking of relying, as Japan does, on the political-military bloc whose leadership is assumed by the United States to draw up and plan strategic policy for Egypt declare that it would be better to rely on the socialist political-military bloc whose leadership is assumed by the Soviet Union. These people's main argument is concentrated on the fact that there is strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel, and there is no use relying on Israel's strategic ally, which supplies it with arms and money, to deter it from its aggressive expansionist policy and convince it to withdraw from the territory it occupies, whether in Lebanon, the Bank, Gaza, Golan or Jerusalem. If Israel is the source of the direct fears for the country's security, it would be better to rely on the Soviets, because relying on America means that we are relying on Israel to ward off fears concerning Israel!

The controversy between the proponents of the bloc of the West and the bloc of the East also entails additional concerns and interests which affect the security of Egypt or the security of the Arab countries. The economic interests and motives of profit from free enterprise and reliance on freedom of trade and the liberalization policy are among the causes that prompt many people to have "fear" for their interests, which will inevitably be affected in the context of a political system which places many restrictions on trade and is dependent on "the intervention" or "oversight" of commercial and economic activities and projects by governments. Therefore, the notion of

security has become linked to the notion of freedom of trade among some people who have thereby been prompted to call for the need to rely almost absolutely on cooperation with the United States in all fields and to combat the dangers of communism and obstruct any contacts or relations that might arise with the Soviets or the countries of the communist bloc.

In another area, the proponents of comprehensive economic planning and government intervention to control all economic activity, in the name of guaranteeing non-exploitation, by the owners of capital ("the haves"), of the wage-earners ("the have-nots"), and guaranteeing at least a minimum of justice in the distribution of wealth, consider that it would be better to suspend or obstruct any relations with the United States of America, because it functions as the leader of liberal appeals and deals and offers loans and grants only to projects which capitalists, the private sector, carry out, and therefore encourages and strengthens the policy of exploitation of poor wage-earners. Therefore, it is proper to rely on Soviet weapons and Soviet advisors in setting out plans and policies to defend the security of the country.

It is our good fortune that we in Egypt are now in a position where we can judge the two groups on the basis of experience and say regarding both of them that dealings with the great powers, as we have known and experienced them, require much precaution and care if one is to avoid falling prey to the intention to dominate which the great power must try to exercise, because it is in the nature of things that "the strong" will try to dominate or "control" those he is dealing with who are weaker than him.

If we rely on American arms or Soviet arms Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's statement, "when the supply of arms in the world is through a government, that is firmly linked to the policies of the arms supplying countries, and it is not reasonable that a country should give arms to another country which conflict with its policy," will continue to be correct and valid at all times.

Therefore we have experienced many errors which have provoked some fears on our country's security by choosing a position on one of the two blocs or concluding an arms transaction with one of them. When the transaction is with the Soviet Union, as was the case at the beginning, we are exposed to attacks from the West, such as the refusal to finance the High Dam project and the tripartite aggression. When the transaction is with the United States, or the capitalist West in general, we are exposed to pressures and maneuvers from the Soviet Union to restrict us or narrow the political room in which we move.

In all cases, we are exposed to the battles in the cold war between the two great blocs!

We have drawn some conclusions from the many various experiences with the two great blocs, and the time has come to try to evaluate and formulate them.

One of these conclusions is that the link with a political bloc always implicates us in a policy aimed at bringing about the "security" of the bloc,

and not the security of the whole world. That is a policy which restricts one's view, because the security of any capitalist or communist bloc cannot be separate from the security of the whole world, given the accumulation of nuclear weapons.

The attempts of a "bloc," be it Western or Eastern, communist or capitalist, to impose its policy and its presence on a given location, or people, by the mere use of military force and weapons, is not feasible and will never succeed in repressing any genuine liberation movement. The military power of a great power cannot permanently achieve stability merely through its military dominance and superiority, with the balancing force it has. This sort of notion might be successful over the short term, but it leads to reactions on the part of oppressed or tyrannized peoples which inflict exorbitant material and moral costs in the long range on the party that is relying on force. The security of Afghanistan, for instance, will not in the long run depend on Soviet arms, soldiers and experts. The same with the security of any country in Central or South America which is protected by American forces and weapons against the dangers of social revolution; stability will never be achieved through military force.

In reality, although arms achieve security for a limited period, stability and peace are contingent on confrontation of the problems of social justice through wise, bold development policies. As Indira Gandhi says, "Development is the new name for peace," or, as Egypt puts it nowadays, following the events that ended with the killing of President al-Sadat, "Development is the key to the door to stability."

Security, then, will not be achieved as those who want to rely totally on the United States imagine, nor will it be achieved as those who demand total reliance on the Soviet Union and the turning back of the clock imagine.

However, other conclusions have manifested themselves to us through the link between security and the two great blocs. These are that affiliation to a political-military bloc may help protect and maintain the security of the country against the dangers that threaten it from the other bloc, but that will not ensure and will not guarantee that dangers and fears facing the security of the country which arise from within the bloc on which it relies for maintaining its security will not break out!

Czechoslovakia, to maintain its security against attacks from the Western camp which American heads, relies on membership in the bloc the Soviet Union leads, but that did not keep it from being exposed to the entry of Soviet forces into Prague against the will of the government that was in existence in 1968, while the presence of a British governor, an ally of the United States', in Grenada, in the Caribbean Sea, did not prevent the invasion of the island by the American army to impose its will on it.

Affiliation with the Atlantic Pact or the Western world did not prevent the invasion of Cyprus by the Turkish army, while any invasion to which Turkey, Cyprus or Greece is exposed by the communist bloc will guarantee the provocation of an international nuclear war by which the Western bloc will defend itself against the aggression the communist bloc is launching.



The political bloc protects whoever belongs to it against the enemies of the bloc, but it does not protect the members of the bloc against themselves, or indeed against whoever is leading the bloc, whether the leadership lies with the United States or the Soviet Union.

Therefore it is now our conviction that the responsibility for the world's security is not separate from the exertion of real efforts outside the policies and interests of blocs, strategic agreements which are concluded and alliances which are entered into.

How, though? Here is where the role of nonalignment comes in.

Until a future article.

[No 2902, 23 Jan 84 pp 14, 15]

[Text] The principle of nonalignment arose from the conviction among small and medium-sized developing countries that peace in the world will not be realized through the policy of blocs and military alliances and the process of balancing them.

Reliance on the presence of a balance among powers to realize peace has resulted in egregious failure, as evidenced by the outbreak of two world wars in which tens of millions of people were sacrificed in the first half of the 20th century.

The principle of nonalignment does not stand against blocs, that is, does not declare war against them, and does not call for their immediate elimination. Rather, it is an appeal to the international community to rise above political blocs and transcend them, in order to work to create new circumstances which, with time, will help draw blocs and alliances that had been mobilized and were competing against one another to the orbit of nonalignment and the world of peace.

Nonalignment depends on the ability of the countries that embrace it to possess a sound vision of political positions, without prejudice and without facades that falsify reality or distort it under the influence of special purposes and interests of one political bloc against another.

The power on which the principle of nonalignment is based is the power of perception, with the light that it sheds on issues and crises, making them appear in their true state and their real dimensions and addressing public opinion in order to win it over it through political analysis which is free from ulterior motives and is aimed at the public interest, that is, peace and stability for the international community.

Some people might imagine that attention to the proper view and sound political analysis, and the effort to enlighten world public opinion with respect to them, are matters which have no weight in the face of the conceptions this public opinion harbors, which are imposed by massive force encumbered by weapons. Who can oppose a great power that has nuclear bombs and intercontinental missiles, and tell it that its political positions are

wrong? It is well known that it is might that makes right and guarantees the interests of parties in the international community.

However, that notion is not at all correct. We have [as evidence] the campaigns that are sweeping over the people of Europe and American nowadays against the arms race and against the missiles erected on the eastern and western front in Europe, which threaten to destroy Europe in moments.

All European politicians make very careful calculations of these popular campaigns and demonstrations that are confronting the nuclear threat. Even the American administration, which is preparing for presidential elections next fall, is still asserting to American and European public opinion that it is in the process of resuming discussions with the Soviet Union with the objective of coming up with a remedy to this increasingly critical situation which is vexing people and causing them the most extreme anxiety over their lives and the lives of their children. There is no way to rid oneself of this anxiety and the fears that accompany it today while world public opinion is receiving more and more information every day, disseminated by scholars, warning that the present arms race will in the very near future reach dimensions and horizons that extend to outer space and that that will result in an increase in the likelihood of the sudden destruction of the world because of the increased likelihood of human error or the occurrence of an unexpected disturbance in equipment from which a series of technological operations will arise in whose wake and because of which forces of destruction will be set off here and there that will demolish the world.

We come back to the first, simple meaning of security, which is "the opposite and antonym of fear," and face an insecure state today, because it is a constant state of fear which passes over and terrifies people, even if they are citizens of a great international power that has the nuclear weapon. The nuclear weapon, which military men had prepared in order to provide immunity and security for their countries and banish the causes of fear from them, is itself a source of the fear and the constant waves of panic that sweep over international human society.

Therefore, public opinion, and people who respect their minds, now have weight and opinions that are heeded regarding the arms procurement process and race to develop arms that is going on among blocs and alliances.

Nonalignment is founded on the conviction of peoples and therefore it is a principle which requires real effort, so that people all over the world can be made to perceive the dangers of modern war and so that the level of their perception of political reality and the political circumstances the world is going through may be raised.

Nothing affects the level of consciousness, or even imposes on all the leaders of the world a refusal to embrace the proper view of events, as much as unequal economic relations, especially between the countries of the north and the countries of the south, or the countries of the civilized industrial world and the countries of the developing world, and the lapse of many small countries into the abyss of poverty, bankruptcy and subjection to famine which arise from this inequality, so that they are compelled to ignore the

correct view or fail to perceive the correct analysis, and are subjected to the caprice of the greater power and the political bloc which belongs to it in order to receive aid and assistance. At this point the needy countries are transformed into subjects which in international circles perform the tasks that the great power assigns to them, offer their votes on their behalf in the United Nations rightly or wrongly, and put their territory and their ports at the service of their armed forces. They are subjects which provide espionage services and take part in international maneuvers and intrigues which serve the interests of their master.

Therefore we can link a given country's adoption of the principle of nonalignment with that country's ability to realize some economic independence and rely on an economic policy which is founded on development through the nation's constructive efforts.

This economic situation is perhaps one standard which accurately reveals to us the truth of the appeal to nonalignment. When reliance on the outer world increases and is transformed into a consumer and parasitic liberalization that interacts with foreign economic forces without restrictions or guarantees, that of necessity means alienation from the principle of nonalignment and the drift toward alignment with the bloc with which the unrestricted, unconditional liberal interaction is occurring. Meanwhile, we draw closer to the circle of nonalignment as we put more and more restrictions on liberalization, for instance transforming it from a consumer liberalization to a productive one, and restrict or confine parasitic economic activity and rely on the policy of comprehensive planning. All these signs of a desire to realize a greater degree of economic independence will help in the adoption of the policy of nonalignment and the refusal to submit to the policy of blocs and alliances.

In general, the appeal for a nonaligned community is not harmonious with an economic policy that is totally dependent on aid, assistance and grants from a greater power. The country which is dependent and at the same time declares that it is a nonaligned country becomes subject to the suspicion that it is infiltrating the nonaligned group as a voice for the great power that looks after it. That is one of the ailments that have afflicted the nonaligned movement, since countries which are subjects of the two conflicting blocs have infiltrated into it in these blocs' attempt to suspend or reduce the volume and the influence of nonalignment and its effect on the international community and world public opinion.

Only the condemnation of negative positions and the pursuit of effective political activity accompanied by massive media activity that is able to address world public opinion and reach its perceptions and feelings will eliminate this sort of ailment which is afflicting the nonaligned movement.

The winning card in the hand of the nonaligned powers is always the card that wins against material force, and that is the power of intelligence and sound perception. Therefore, the nonaligned movement profits from the great political leaders who have the ability to see and perceive the dimensions of reality and look into the future, and at the same time have mass media appeal. That must be accompanied by a high degree of political maturity and

scientific expertise which can provide precise studies and analyses, because these studies, through the awareness they provide, are the goods that are most assuredly needed today by the international human and political market to which millions of people from every direction are coming, even in the major or great countries, wondering about their destiny, where they can find the salvation which will gain them security, and how they can attain it.

Thus we come to the notion which must be underlined and stressed in every way, which is that security is not confined to arms, in spite of their importance and the sovereignty of the law of dominance. In addition, security is not confined to guaranteeing international relations with the major or great countries. Indeed, it is also basically connected to the ability to develop and exert efforts to bring about international relations which are suitable for proceeding with this development, while permanently striving to push the international community to become convinced of the need to set out a better system of financial and economic relations, lest economic aid turn into a process of defrauding the countries that need it and a means for threatening them and imposing a foreign will over their own.

The ability to develop, in an atmosphere of independence, is the natural approach to the failure to become implicated in military bases which expose countries' security to dangers that are above their capacity and are linked to policies and decisions taken by the owners of the military bases, in their own interest, even when they sacrifice the interests and security of our nation.

Independent economic development is also the natural approach for providing us with the ability to reject the intervention of foreign forces to solve regional problems and crises, and to content ourselves by relying on regional organizations and what they are able to achieve in this area.

Independent economic development is also the natural approach to something more important than all that, which is that the security of our country, before anything else, and before thinking about blocs and alliances, or the principle of nonalignment, needs commitment to the original principle, which is self-reliance. That leads us to another investigation.

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COMMENTARY RAPS RISING PRICES FOR CONSUMER GOODS

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 17 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Jamal-al-Din al-Hamamasi: "Who is Monitoring the Rise of the Insane Prices?"]

[Text] At the start of each month--and perhaps more often than that--people are surprised by an increase in the prices of goods not included in the framework of government protection. Sometimes these prices rise in a continuous manner no individual budgets can keep up with.

The mass of people are forced to pay. They alone can regulate their affairs one way or another. This seems to be their affair alone!

No one disagrees that rising prices are an international problem. However, a large number of countries prepare the way for price increases by means of an agreement among consumers, who are represented by a popular, government body. Other countries leave the determination of the percentage of the increase to one side. The merchants decide the new price and impose it without discussion. Thus, it becomes a fait accompli that can never be reversed.

The government might be aware of that which is occurring in secret. It may slightly increase wages and salaries from one year to the next. However, will these small increases match the prices faced by consumers? Prices tend to rise insanely, so that family budgets cannot keep up.

Leaving the public alone to confront insanely rising prices without any protection or guidance is considered serious governmental neglect. The pressure will eventually reach a point at which the masses will be able to do nothing but begin to complain actively. This can only be dealt with by government intervention to preserve security and order. Thus, at this critical stage we are forced to ask the following question: Is not prevention better than violent treatment, which might take the lives of the patients and others besides?

In some great states, popular boards exist that protect the consumers from the greed of those who hold both goods and prices in their hands by monitoring the movement of prices. These boards act on a broad basis, with the goal of defending consumers in one way or another. They thus protect the security and stability of the citizenry.

It may be difficult to implement such a measure here, since the people have no legitimate means of defending their rights. However, is not the government capable and able of preventing any merchant from raising the price of any good, so long as he has not obtained the approval of a popular, government board? If it found an increase to be justified, this body would determine the size of it and set the date on which it would come into effect, in order to prepare people to accept it without any surprises or price shocks.

Once again, we say that if people are exposed in their lives to shocks of various kinds, they may bear them with patience and firmness because of the strength of their faith in God. The exception is offered by shocks having to do with their basic needs, financial capabilities, and food supply. Although the open-door policy may have worked against the distinctions produced by the old feudalism and allowed a small group of people to achieve enormous financial capabilities, the same policy has created great distinctions. Though we do not feel its deep effects now, we may feel them tomorrow. The officials must understand the situation. Otherwise, the continuously rising prices will produce a shock that will surpass the endurance of all the people, both those who are able and those who are not.

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CSO: 4504/174

AGRICULTURE OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON LAND RECLAMATION PROJECTS

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 29 Dec 83 p 5

/Interview with Dr Husni Hafiz, head of agriculture, irrigation, and food security sector, by Jamil Jurj: "We Have Reclaimed 23,000 Feddans; The Goal is to Reclaim 150,000;" date and place not specified

/Text In accordance with the law establishing the National investment Bank, Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, the minister of planning, has asked Dr Sa'id al-Hanafi, the vice president of the bank, and Dr Husni Hafiz, the head of the agriculture, irrigation, and food security sector, not to be satisfied with a written follow-up when confirming that the investment funds have been used. Rather, he says a field investigation should also be conducted to make sure that the money has been spent for the goals set down in the plan. Secondly, such an investigation should be done in order to remove any obstacles that may block the projects and to provide the funds needed by them, if the situation requires that.

For the past few days, Dr Husni Hafiz has been engaged in preparing the final version of the situation. Therefore, we conducted this important interview with him.

27 Million...For Emergencies

/Question To start with, I want to clarify the High Dam situation first. Was it not decided during the visit to Aswan by Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, the deputy prime minister, to carry out an emergency plan?

/Answer Although the image of the current situation is reassuring, many matters must be decided.

First: 27 million pounds have been allocated to implement the emergency plan for a period of 3 years, now that it has become clear that the probable life of much equipment has ended. Moreover, we have no device for clearing away sand under water. The Soviet /word illegible prepared it during the construction of the dam, but it is not currently available.

Second: The project is suffering from a lack of engineers. It has reached 70 percent due to the absence of incentives and suitable housing accommodations.

Third: Cracks have appeared in the surface of the earth in the areas to the west and east of Kalabishah Bay, no more than 40 kilometers to the south of the High Dam. This has caused fissures to appear in the ground to the west of the bay. This has been helped by the proximity of the earthquake center, which lies 60 kilometers to the south. It will probably get closer than that. This has been shown by the maps and photographs done by the field survey.

#### Earthquake Observation Stations

Fourth: Inspecting has shown that a number of precautions have been taken. Primary among them is the provision of observation and measuring devices. Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, the minister of planning, has allocated 9 million pounds for this purpose. Moreover, a temporary earthquake observation center has been set up and equipped at Aswan. Moreover, earthquake observation stations have been set up around the High Dam and the lake in various spots in the Western Desert, along the northern portion of the High Dam reservoir, and on the body of the dam. The High Dam Board has completed the blueprints and designs for a building to house the center for earthquake research, and the contract has been put up for bidding.

#### The Rock That Threatens the High Dam

Fifth: We are now importing automatic observation stations to monitor the water level. However, the problem we are currently facing is the presence of a huge boulder next to the right side of the rear channel. It is leaning at an angle of 70 to 80 degrees. Naturally, it is surrounded by fissures and small rocks. This threatens us with the possibility of the boulder falling in. If it happens, there will be a problem, due to the presence of the electricity generating and distributing stations. In order to deal with the situation, we put the project of solving the problem posed by this boulder up for international bidding. A company from the public sector and a specialized Yugoslavian company won the task of dealing with this boulder. The job will cost 16.5 million pounds. A period of 40 months has been set aside for this project, which will be carried out by changing the angle at which the rock tilts to 45 degrees.

Sixth: In a report submitted to the officials, I suggested that the chairman of the High Dam Board be granted ministerial powers and all the scientific facilities and personnel he needs, so that he can confront any emergency without referring back to Cairo.

/Question/ Let us move on now to agriculture and food security programs. The 1982-83 plan contained investments worth 426.2 million pounds. What were the results of the follow-up investigation?

/Answer/ The agencies requested additional allocations amounting to 17.8 million pounds. However, the sum actually used did not exceed 343.8 million pounds.



/Question/ Therefore, why were requests for additional investments made, as long as the original allocations were not completely used? (The head of the agriculture sector did not respond to the question.)

#### Results of Field Survey

/Question/ What about the results of the field survey on the project level? This is what President Husni Mubarak was eager to learn about during his visits to the various sites.

/Answer/ A lot of things were brought out. Here are the most important points:

The sum of 9 million pounds was allocated for the Land Improvement Agency. However, the program was not completely executed, since the al-Ballah quarry was exhausted. It was the sole source of agricultural gypsum. The problem was compounded by the failure to complete the surfacing of the road leading to the alternate quarry.

The sum of 3.3 million pounds was allocated for the deep sea fishing project, in order to build a boat and a refrigeration unit. However, the project did not see the light of day, because the economic benefit study was not completed.

The al-Nubariyah Company for Seed Production directed some investment into residential and non-residential buildings and furniture, as well as means of transportation and equipment.

The plan included 5 million pounds for agricultural research. However, it became clear that some of the results of this research were separate from the production sites.

The quality of 50 percent of the land deteriorated, so that it became third or fourth class land, as a result of erosion. In order to treat this problem, the sum of 9 million pounds was allocated to improving the land's fertility. It has become clear that only half of the sum allocated was used!

Output of the Meat Company is 1 Percent

/Question/ It has been noted that the prices charged by butchers for red meat have been rising steadily, without any controls. What has the plan done to confront this situation?

/Answer/ I agree with the announcement made previously by Dr Kamal al-Janzeni. He said that the provision of meat is beyond the capacity of many states, especially those that have no pastures. In Egypt, we allocate 30 percent of the harvest to growing green fodder for non-productive animals, such as bulls and donkeys. Therefore, the state

has focused its interest on producing non-traditional kinds of fodder, so the land can be used for other crops. More than 9 million pounds have been made available for the Meat Production Company and the completion of the West al-Nubariyah project. So far, more than 30 million pounds have been spent on it.

/Question/ What about poultry?

/Answer/ The Poultry Company received the largest share of investments. It amounted to 25 percent. Thus, its capital is more than 120 million pounds. There is no doubt that the company has begun to make progress by giving up its fattening policy.

#### Future of the Agricultural Companies

/Question/ Most agricultural companies continued to belong to the Ministry of Land Reclamation until the middle of 1982-83. This led to a lack of clarity concerning their goals and the exploitation of their capabilities. Therefore, ownership of them was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture. What have the results been like?

/Answer/ Dr Yusuf Wali, minister of agriculture, has begun drawing up appropriate policies for each individual company. Some companies assist the Ministry of Supply in its efforts to meet the needs of consumers for goods for which demand is increasing. One thinks of grapes in northern al-Tahrir. There are also companies for improved seeds, intensive mechanization, and experimental agricultural policies.

The Vineyards Company is facing the problem of vineyards in which production is declining due to the rising level of subterranean water and poor drainage. Hope exists for treating this problem.

The West al-Nubariyah Company is suffering from the problem of the increasing salinity of its irrigation water. This has had a very large effect on its productivity.

The al-Nubariyah Seed Production Company is supposed to produce improved seeds. However, it contains 24,000 feddans and the productivity of the land is low. Thus, it cannot achieve its goal.

The Maryut Agricultural Company does not have enough irrigation water.

The Northern al-Tahrir Company has begun to alleviate the problem of a lack of irrigation water with the establishment motors for irrigation. However, it is suffering from a drainage problem. They expect to deal with it by executing the West al-Nubariyah drainage canal project.

The Southern al-Tahrir Company is supposed to produce citrus fruit. However, productivity per feddan has fallen to 2 tons, as compared with 8 tons of other land, although the land has no irrigation or drainage problems. Moreover, the company has turned new areas over to the cooperatives for exploitation.

32,000 Feddans

/Question/ The economic conference chaired by President Husni Mubarak said it was necessary to reclaim at least 150,000 feddans a year. What has the plan achieved?

/Answer/ Unfortunately, last year all the companies reclaimed a total of 17,282 feddans, while the Arab Contractors Company, of the "public sector," reclaimed 15,000 feddans. Thus, the total amount of land reclaimed was 32,282 feddans.

Field survey operations have uncovered the following obstacles and problems:

Private capital has refrained from taking an effective part in land reclamation projects, in view of the fact that such projects need large investments, while the turnover of capital is slow.

There is no connection or coordination between the progress of reclamation activities and the construction of major infrastructure projects. Such coordination would allow the achievement of complete independence for the areas being reclaimed.

No definite policy has been drawn up for managing the reclaimed lands, and no method for exploiting them has been worked out. Partly as a result of this, individuals, some of whom have no relation to agriculture, have bought the land.

Not enough irrigation water is available for the reclaimed lands, especially during flooding and cleaning operations; then there are the drainage problems.

Relationship of the Owner and the Tenant

/Question/ At the conclusion of his interview with AL-AKHBAR, Dr Husni Hafiz 'Abd-al-Rahman offered a number of important recommendations for filling the food gap. The most important one was to change the composition of the harvest so that it would be consistent with the country's needs for food and the circumstances of the land. This method has succeeded in determining areas for cotton and rice on the national level.

/Answer/ There must be a reexamination of the livestock policy, especially since the agricultural area set aside for livestock and poultry fodder represents about 30 percent of the harvested area.

We must work to introduce new crops. The economics of the production of our present crops and their cost must be studied, keeping in mind the period for which they are on the land and their consumption of water and the requirements of production.

It is necessary to reexamine the laws on agricultural reform and the regulation of the relationship between owners and agricultural tenants, so that the owners of less than 3 feddans can recover their land from the tenants and either farm it themselves or supervise it. Many tenants have taken to stripping the land of its topsoil for the sake of quick profits for the owners of brick furnaces. Thus, they have destroyed the land's productivity and fertility. As for areas larger than 3 feddans, they ought to be farmed cooperatively, because the owner of the land always feels it is a part of himself.

We must take an interest in our salt water fish resources. The fishing beds must be exploited scientifically. Fish production should be industrialized, and fish waste should be used as cattle fodder.

We ought to reexamine the law on the investment of Arab and foreign capital, so it can be directed toward land reclamation projects in a manner consistent with the projects in the development plan.

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# SMALL INDUSTRIES COUNCIL MAKES VARIOUS RECOMMENDATIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 20, 27 Jan 84

[20 Jan 84 p 11]

[Article by Mahmud Murad]

[Text] Council of Ministers is presently examining a memorandum from the Ministry of Industry that is stirring up a vital subject.

Are small home industries receiving some attention or not?

The minister of industry and production officials face the question squarely in a heated discussion.

There is a consensus that this is an industry without a guardian, but opinions differ about reasons for shortcomings.

## Symposium Participants:

Dr Engineer Muhammad al-Sayyid al-Gharuri, minister of industry; Mubarak Rifa'i, deputy minister in local government and chief of the Agency for Craftsmen and Cooperatives for Production; Dr Engineer 'Adil Jazarin, chief of the Engineering Industries Organization and president of the Alliance of Industries; Dr Engineer Yusuf Khalil Mazhar, undersecretary of the Ministry of Industry and chief of the Center for the Development of Engineering and Industrial Designs; Dr Ahmad Khalid 'Allam, professor of planning at the College of Engineering of al-Azhar University; Engineer 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Mihilmi, vice president of the General Organization for Industrialization; Engineer Muhsin Radi, chief of the Mineral Industries Organization; Dr Isma'il 'Amir, professor at the College of Engineering of al-Azhar University; Engineer 'Izz al-Din al-Sharqawi, director general of Small Industries; Ahmad Ra'fat, director of the Agency for Craftsmen and Cooperatives for Production; Muhammad Hamzah, director general of the Administration for Production Sufficiency; and Ahmad Shalabi from the Cooperative Alliance for Craftsmen.

Small industries and crafts are unjustly treated in our country even though they are very important in supporting the economy, developing production and raising

people's standard of living and their standard of culture. As one of the scholars at the symposium said--and the minister of industry and remaining symposium participants concurred--the injustice to small industries and crafts is such that these establishments have no one looking after them. There isn't a single specific agency devising a strategy for these industries, making plans for them, removing obstacles from their path and looking after implementation. Although such industry is thought to be magnet-like, attracting people in urban and rural areas and in small villages who wish to invest money or efforts, there is no agency to clarify what is it that society wants and what are the industries that are required. Therefore we find scores and perhaps hundreds of projects devoted to one field simply because such projects had realized profits for investors in the past or because the country needed such projects at one time. The result of that is that an abundant production increases supplies, and profits turn to losses. Although every major industry needs numerous small industries along its side that supply it with its needs, no one is paying any attention at all to that matter.

What is amazing is that all this is known. It is also known that Japan's superb technological progress relied basically--and still does--on small industries. In fact, the industry that manufactures complex electronic devices avails itself of hundreds of men and women each of whom represents "a small independent industry." Each one of those men and women produces in his home or small shop one part for a machine that is required or a small tool. These parts and tools are then assembled and put into operation in a large plant.

All this is known. It is also known that the number of workers in such industries equals about 49 percent of all workers in conversion industries in the public and private sectors. It is known that a country like South Korea paid attention to these small industries and the crafts and that that was the way it took to develop advanced industries with which it conquered the world's markets.

Although we know all this, we in Egypt are not paying attention to this matter, not even now, as senior industry officials admit. There is no specific agreed upon definition of what constitutes a small industry. Small industries have no plan and no one to look after them.

AL-AHRAM's symposium is a product of all these and other considerations. AL-AHRAM's symposium is also creating an opportunity for comments to be made and opinions to be expressed by those who are interested in the matter, those who are involved in it and those who wish to speak about it.

The Minister of Industry: Industry in general is divided into the crafts, and these are occupations in which a person would work by himself or manage a place of business where there are no more than 10 workers. But there is a difference [of opinion] about defining small industries. It may be said, however, that a small industry is one in which the number of workers is not less than 10 and not more than 50. The capital of a small business is between 5,000 and 150,000 pounds. Medium size industries come after that: the number of workers in those industries exceeds 50, and capital is more than 150,000 pounds. After that come the large industries.

In order to find out about small industries, we must know that the volume of industrial production in all of Egypt comes to about 10 billion pounds a year. Of

that amount private sector industries produce 2.2 billion pounds, and about 85 percent of these private sector industries are small industries. This means that the value of goods produced by small industries, which is about 1.8 billion pounds, is distributed among the textile industry, the ready-to-wear clothing industry, the food industry, and the mineral, chemical, leather and other industries. About 450,000 workers are employed in those industries: that is about 75 percent of the labor force in the private sector. The ratio is the same when compared with the labor force in the public sector.

At the same time major conversion industries cannot be founded unless small industries are founded along their side. For example, the textile industry and the ready-to-wear clothing industry need buttons, thread and other materials. The automobile industry needs door knobs, lamps, upholstery and other small industries. This confirms the fact that such industries go along with and provide services to large industries.

If we were to ask, as Brother Mahmud Murad did, "Do we in Egypt have a plan for small industries; did we give small industries their due?" I would answer immediately, "No, small industries have not been given their due care, and they have not played the role that is required of them." Now it has become necessary to encourage small industries and to look after them by providing them with customs protection, the necessary raw materials and easy access to loans. Markets are to be opened for these small industries, and other measures must also be taken to help them. For example, these industries are to be given a home in the sense of assembling them in special zones outside cities. These zones would include special installations for small industries and craftsmen. That would be done in the context of the attention that is being given to industry, which is considered the cornerstone of development in Egypt. Small industries are considered to be a bridge to broader horizons, and that is what happened in other countries.

Ahmad Shalabi: The crafts are linked with small industries. In fact, craftsmen become proprietors of small industries when they introduce mechanization [into their operations] and expand production. In general, both the crafts and small industries are subjected to the same conditions and problems, most prominent of which are those of financing. Banks make it easy for trade operations to get loans and financing, but they place restrictions on loans and financing to crafts and small industries even though development is achieved through the crafts and small industries. There is also a problem with providing production requirements and customs protection.

AL-AHRAM: It is important in this discussion to find out [the following]: Does the government have a plan for small industries? Is industrial guidance available to the owners of these small plants so they can produce goods that society needs either for consumption or for export? What are the means by which production requirements are provided? Is there a process for developing production in light of certain models that would appeal to consumers and compete with imported goods? Is there a continuous manpower training program to meet the labor shortage which results from workers leaving the country to work abroad or leaving small industries to work in large industries?

Dr Yusuf Mazhar: Before discussing programs that are suitable for small industries, we ought to know first that owners of these industries have their own

complaints. First, they complain about their relationship with the state with regard to customs; the acquisition of land, facilities and energy; securing financing because of high interest rates; the means by which technology is acquired; and also with regard to training. Although the public sector earmarks a certain percentage of its budget for training, the private sector does not. In fact, the private sector operates on an understanding that the workers it trains leave after they are trained and go to work elsewhere.

The Ministry of Industry has programs for confronting these problems, but these programs do not have all the solutions. They do not have solutions to problems such as those that exist with loans, land, facilities, assembly and others. Matters would be different if solutions to all these problems were up to the ministry.

#### 1 Million Dollars from the IBRD

One example of the programs we have is that on which we worked with the International Labor Organization and the IBRD to devise programs for training and quality production. Therefore, we now know the term "industrial guidance;" that term was unknown to us before. Also as a result of studies, the IBRD has allocated to us 1 million dollars to finance small industries. There are other programs for transferring technology, and we have agreements about those programs with international organizations.

Dr 'Adil Jazarin: To complement that, the Alliance of Industries has put together an eight-point plan to solve the problems of its members, the proprietors of small industries. This eight-point plan [is as follows]:

1. With the cooperation of the Center for Engineering and Industrial Design small industries are to be provided with modern technology. This effort which will be financed by international organizations will also allow for solutions to technological problems that emerge in any industry. We are opening the door to members of the alliance to benefit from this. The alliance is also trying to upgrade industrial standards and open markets by participating in specific fairs abroad.
2. In conjunction with [the Administration for] Production Sufficiency the alliance is contributing to training operations to raise the standard of skills and to make up for the manpower shortage.
3. Quality standards are to be improved by establishing 50 centers for improving quality and inspection.
4. Production requirements are to be made available by contacting authorized agencies.
5. Customs, taxes and other problems with the state are to be solved. We held two meetings for that purpose with the ministers of industry and the economy. Next month we will meet with the minister of finance to explain the problems of small industries.
6. Assistance in marketing is to be provided by opening new outlets.



7. Studies of sectors are to be conducted to find out about investment opportunities in each industry so as to steer national capital [accordingly].

8. An information center for small industries is to be established. It is to have information about the number of factories and workers and about capital and production. It is to have information about the market and about other data required and needed for existing industries or for the Investment Administration.

Engineer 'Izz al-Din al-Sharqawi: To provide evidence of the importance of small industries, [let us assume] that they produce almost 25 percent of total industrial production. Small industry statistics indicate that 90 percent of shoe factories and 98 percent of furniture factories are private sector small factories. Also a large percentage of the textile industry and the ready-to-wear clothing industry is in the private sector. This makes it essential that attention be devoted to those industries and to solving their problems.

AL-AHRAM: Indeed the private sector must be given an opportunity to take part in production and development. The private sector must play a part in finding solutions to its problems. But how can the prices of goods produced by the private sector be controlled and how can quality be assured?

The Minister of Industry: Every article that is produced has specifications that are set for it by an authorized agency in the ministry. We inspect the articles for quality. If we get a complaint about any article, we go to inspect it. But the matter of prices is handled jointly by Industrial Supervision and the Ministry of Supplies. There are articles whose prices are fixed and for which profit is fixed; this is in accordance with the well-known Decree No 119. However, some plants misrepresent facts. For example, the proprietor of a plant that manufactures washing machines complains and publishes reports in newspapers about our failure to go to his plant to observe his operation and authorize his products for sale. But the fact is that he is falsifying facts. He did get a permit to manufacture a certain number of washing machines, but he manufactured many times that number. And that is a violation [of his permit]. But the problem is not that of increasing production; it is that of fixing it because of its consequences.

#### State Assistance to the Private Sector

Engineer 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Mihilmi: The relationship between the state and small industries begins when a plant owner applies for a permit in accordance with Law No 21 for 1953. This law requires every citizen who wishes to carry out an industrial project to take out a permit from the Ministry of Industry. The minister of industry has pledged at a council of ministers meeting that such a permit would be issued to an applicant within 1 month of the application. A simple feasibility study would be done on the project for the Industrialization Organization, which offers every assistance and shows whether or not the project is feasible.

If a permit is issued, the organization gives the private sector professional help in selecting the necessary equipment for [the project]. It also advises [project proprietors] about locally produced machines they can use instead of importing ones like them. In case machines are imported, we stipulate that they should not be used and should not be very old, making it difficult to obtain

spare parts for them. Therefore, we require that machines be no more than 5 years old. As soon as the machines arrive, the necessary inspection is carried out so that permits can be issued for them before they are released from customs.

### Three Zones for Industrial Complexes in Cairo

The question of bringing industries together in one zone outside cities was raised at the symposium. Commenting on that question Dr Ism'il 'Amir presented a summary of a university study in which he stated [the following]:

The present distribution of workshops and crafts shops in Cairo's neighborhoods--these shops amounted to about 25,416 establishments--indicates that the present distribution is one that overlaps residential areas and also downtown Cairo. Accordingly, the neighborhoods of Cairo, in so far as the distribution of workshops and crafts shops are concerned, may be divided into three principal sectors.

A northern sector, a central sector and a southern sector.

On the basis of this division it may be suggested that a crafts complex may be set up for each one of these sectors. This would be an integrated crafts complex that includes housing, workshops and services. Each complex would not be far from the principal thoroughfares connecting parts of the city. The study suggested the following locations for the complexes.

--The northern sector: A crafts complex in al-Khankah Desert, which is considered complementary to the industrial zone whose center has emerged on the Cairo-Ismailia Highway.

--The Central Sector: A crafts complex in al-Muqattam Desert (the lower brow), on a principal artery with the industrial zone whose center emerged on the Salah Salim Road in al-'Abbasiyah.

--The southern sector: A crafts complex located in the Hulwan desert and connected with the industrial zone in Hulwan.

[27 Jan 84 p 11]

[Text] What should be done to make small industries succeed and to make them serve people and society?

Should the private sector alone be in charge of small industry, or should the state intervene to balance prices?

Calls are being made for the establishment of an organization to manage, the enactment of laws to rule and the creation of an authority to overcome obstacles.

According to preliminary estimates there are in Egypt 6,000 institutions that can be classified as small industries. About half a million workers are employed in those institutions. In order to increase our faith in the importance of this kind of industry--above and beyond what was mentioned last Friday--it is enough to say that permits issued in 1975 indicate that investments in small industries

amounted to 67 million pounds. In 1982 investments in small industries soared to 767 million pounds. This signifies the extent to which Egyptian investors are interested in small industries which constitute the primary center of attraction and attention for all those who saved a certain sum of money or for anyone seeking to work for himself away from the restrictions of a job. It is therefore necessary to establish an independent organization to look after small industries. It is equally important that the activities of small industries be regulated and that they be steered directly to produce goods that are essential to individuals and families. [It is also important] that prices be controlled in the face of investment companies that take advantage [of consumers] and raise prices, or in the face of individuals who want to make a profit in the fastest and cheapest way. Therefore, the important question is this: How do we manage small industries? Do we leave all small industries to the private sector, or should the government intervene? How do we control the prices of goods produced by small industries? All this is being considered for the purpose of serving people and society and contributing to the growth of production. We do not think it is necessary to cite once again the example of other countries that did what we are calling for.

Engineer 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Mihilmi: To define the strategy that the Ministry of Industry has for developing small industries, studies are now being conducted about the ideal method [to do that]. One of these studies suggests that the activities of these industries in the private sector be restricted to some activities such as ready-to wear clothing. Another study suggests that the public sector would have to become involved in those activities to create a balance in prices for the sake of consumers because private sector producers overprice their products. Therefore, for example, a public sector project is currently being implemented to produce 4 million pairs of shoes a year.

Also the Public Organization for Industrialization is now listing all small industries in Egypt to classify them. The list of small industries will be printed in books that will be distributed free of charge to guide those who wish to become involved in this line of work. So far, 3,200 of about 6,000 institutions in Egypt have been listed. The full listing is expected to be completed in 2 or 3 years, according to how fast data about these institutions are provided by their proprietors. Among the benefits of this listing is that the list will show what is produced locally by various industries so that similar articles would not be imported from abroad.

The organization is interested in establishing industrial complexes outside cities. It joined the IBRD in studying existing establishments in Alexandria and Damanhur. A special report on this study will be completed in a matter of weeks. An area has been selected outside these two cities to be the location for setting up establishments and plants along with the services that are necessary for them. [The report will have] suggestions on how construction is to be carried out.

Muhammad Hamzah: In developing small industries it is important for producers to become familiar with management information so they can manage establishments on sound principles and take costs and profits into account. Therefore we must provide for producers the kinds of programs or information that is necessary for them according to the nature of their business. As far as training is concerned, that must not be lengthy or tiresome and it must not be at the work site. An

example of such a training program is that one in which the Administration for Production Sufficiency joined the Alliance of Industries last year in devising a training program that lasted for 5 or 6 weeks and between 8 and 12 weeks. The results of that training program were positive.

Mubarak Rifa'i: To develop and advance the crafts and small industries so as to make them more effective within the national economy, there has to be a proper organization for this sector to manage, direct and monitor its activity. We must have laws that govern this sector, help it overcome difficulties, make funding easily available for its projects and also market its products. In addition, we must have training for people in this sector as was referred to by speakers. As an official responsible for the crafts I am saying that there is absolutely no coordination between the ministries and the agencies that do business with and are connected to the small industries and crafts sector.

Although the matter of prices and quality was raised at the symposium, I am saying that some firms broke into the field and spoiled the market. For example, an investment company is manufacturing shoes. At first that company sold a pair of shoes for 17 pounds, and that made Egyptian manufacturers sell their shoes for 12 pounds instead of 8 pounds a pair. The sale price for shoes was fixed. When the situation went on, the race to raise prices began, and the price of a pair of shoes produced by the investment company became 35 pounds, even though that company gets the leather from a public sector company at an inexpensive price. Although the company enjoys several advantages, it does not care for quality. I also wish we would pay attention to exports because the world market needs that. Finally, although there is no specific and standard definition for small industries, there is none for the crafts either.

Dr Ahmad Khalid 'Allam: Because I specialize in regional planning and urban planning, the establishment of industrial complexes is of interest to us. In addition to their contribution to the development of industry, industrial complexes develop society and people, and they are associated with regulating land use. But who is to assume responsibility for small industries in Egypt? Each ministry is engaged in this kind of activity. And there are other agencies and organizations engaged in small businesses. We attended numerous meetings to discuss this activity and where it should take place in a city. But we are always talking about cities and forgetting villages even though more than half the population live in rural areas. If we were to devote proper attention to small industries in rural areas, we would be contributing to the standardisation of investments and savings; we would be setting both on a proper course; and we would be contributing to the development of these communities. We would help prevent emigration from rural to urban areas, or we would reduce it. That method alone is the one that is being followed throughout the world. Regional plans must be made for small industries and for the crafts; these plans must not be centralized. I recall here that a decree was issued years ago to divide Egypt into eight planning regions. We actually conducted theoretical studies, and we waited for the Ministry of Planning to make plans for the regions, but nothing has been done since 1977.

In spite of that we worked through the universities and the Society of Planning and conducted broad studies about Egyptian villages. These studies covered the role of small industries; methods of planning for them; methods of developing

them and coordinating their activities; officials responsible for them; and ways to make them have the required effect. At the present time these small industries are like "orphan" institutions. They are divided up among more than one agency, and no agency is responsible for them.

Engineer Muhsin Radi: As Dr 'Allam said, we actually have to go back to villages and devote attention to them and to small industries that are suitable to them. A long time ago, a quarter of a century ago, there was an organization of cooperatives for production that supervised these industries and coordinated their activities. Then local governments took over that function. Unfortunately, they do not have the professional staff that can do this. I am not calling for centralization, [however], but I am calling for universal coordination along with planning done according to the nature of each region and governorate. I am calling for the establishment of competent agencies in local governments that can provide direction and guidance.

Dr Muhammad al-Sayyid al-Gharuri: There is a memorandum that is being considered now to establish a supreme advisory council for small industries and the crafts. That council would devise a general strategy for these industries, and all ministries and agencies concerned with that matter would take part in this activity. We would thus create a "parent" organization that would look after these industries.

AL-AHRAM: I believe that this council ought not to be advisory only. It ought to have powers to manage this vital sector and solve all its problems, but it should also have a secretariat that operates on a daily basis, and it should have branches in the governorates.

Mubarak Rifa'i: There has to be an organizational framework to manage what goes on in this activity. This should start on a central level and go down to the local level. It should start from the village and then to the administrative district, to the governorate and to the capital, particularly since the crafts have their roots in Egyptian society.

Ahmad Shalabi: We have organizational experience in the crafts since there is a sector for every homogeneous variety of cooperative societies to coordinate their activities and help market their products. The experience has been fruitful, and Ministry of Supplies companies are selling products at suitable prices. We now have 12 successful sectors, and one of them is the shoes sector which will produce this year 5 million high-quality pairs of shoes at a price that is no more than 8 pounds. A pair of shoes that is sold now for 35 pounds costs less than 5 pounds, and the difference is due to administrative costs and tremendous profits.

Dr Muhammad al-Sayyid al-Gharuri: Small industries have an important and a vital role to play. Whether they are part of the public sector or the private sector small industries are part of the nation's industrial activity. We care about their development and about solving their problems.

These are problems that are common to all large as well as small industries. They are illustrated in taxes, customs protection, encouragement, financing, labor and other problems. More and more of these problems have to be faced so that national Egyptian industry can take off. Finally, I would like to say that every industry

that is established on Egyptian territory is an Egyptian industry that enjoys the same amount of attention and protection.

#### Recommendations of the Symposium

The symposium thinks that small industries operating in different areas and involved in different activities--and these also include the crafts and manual industries--play an important role in national production and the national economy. They also play an important role in the cultural development of the individual and society.

If these industries, despite their importance and their role, have no one to protect them and look after them, the time has come to establish an organization that would do that. This organization is not to be an advisory organization only, but it must also have powers and authorities so that all branches of activity can be regulated within its framework, thereby enabling it to manage the activities of small industries, enact laws that protect them, solve their problems, remove obstacles in their way and make the financing of their projects easier.

The symposium thinks that small industries truly represent a very important avenue for development in Egypt's rural areas where more than half the population live. Accordingly, attention must be devoted to this matter by establishing branches of the proposed organization in the governorates. These branches would have competent technical personnel who can study, make plans and provide guidance to those who wish to invest their money. Those people should also be able to steer production toward consumer requirements or exports and toward what is compatible with resources and capabilities that are available in the region.

It is important here for the organization to compile all the studies that were made in the various ministries, in universities, in the Planning Society and elsewhere. It is also important for this organization to protect small industries from spurious characters whose aim is to make a profit in the shortest and quickest way. It is important for this organization to protect consumers by providing high-quality merchandise that is not over-priced.

If the organization is being asked to protect small industries and provide what is known as customs protection, the first thing it has to do is to make sure that products produced by these industries "are good, compatible with Egyptian taste and sold at suitable prices." After that the organization can prohibit or limit imports. It must also try to develop the merchandise that is produced to make that merchandise compatible with public taste for exports abroad. This has to be done for the clothing industry, for the shoes industry and for the furniture industry; it has to be done for the products of Khan al-Khalili and for those manual industries that are popular in the world market.

The symposium thinks that every industry on Egyptian territory is a national, Egyptian industry that must be looked after. The symposium thinks that the private sector has a major role to play in this regard. However, the symposium thinks the public sector should intervene until prices are stabilized, particularly after the effect of high prices has been felt in the areas of ready-to-wear clothing, shoes and other goods that meet the essential needs of average citizens.

Along with the recommendations it is making, the symposium also recommends that the easy transfer of technology is not to be ignored. Equipment, production requirements and training are to be provided. The integration of all branches of industry and all aspects of national production is to be taken into account.

[Small Industries], the Balance of Trade and Increasing the Volume of Exports

In a study he sent to the symposium Dr Fu'ad al-Qadi said that Egypt's balance of trade was suffering from a growing deficit that amounted to 4.7 billion dollars in 1981-1982. [He said that] small industries can play an important part in reducing that deficit.

A study done by UNIDO experts stated that the shoes, textiles, leather and leather products industries, and to a less extent the electrical appliances industry, constitute in general the industries that are most sensitive to increases in imports from developing countries to industrial countries. In spite of that fact it is evident when we review the balance of trade that our exports of these articles to free market countries are very few or non-existent. [It is also evident] that textiles make up most of our industrial exports.

Figures show that the total deficit amounted to 2.764 billion dollars in 1977 and that it rose to 4.7 billion dollars in 1981-1982. The volume of goods exported, excluding oil, was 2.346 billion dollars in 1977. In 1981-1982 that volume rose to 5.730 billion dollars. In 1977 the volume of imports was 5.110 billion dollars; in 1981-1982 that volume of imports rose to 10.43 billion dollars.

Since cotton, a few agricultural crops and a few manufactured goods (food, chemicals and equipment) constitute our exports, small industries can increase the volume of exports because they can respond to market changes and can act quickly. For example, small industries can export more shoes, more leather products, furniture, wooden products and more Khan al-Khalili products. More products of manual industries and environmental industries can be produced for export in all governorates if they are directed to do that and stimulated.

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## EGYPT

### FERTILIZER PLANT TO RECYCLE GARBAGE

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 19 Jan 84 p 6

/Text/ The Governorate of Cairo will begin to operate the first modern factory for turning garbage into organic fertilizer at the beginning of next August. The cost of the factory is 3 million pounds. It is being built by the Swiss Confederation, in cooperation with the Governorate of Cairo.

The factory will take in 160 tons of garbage a day, from which it will produce 70 tons of fertilizer. It has also been decided to develop the old fertilizer factory so that it can catch up with the new one in terms of output. The new factory will be built in the area of Kubri 'Abud, at the entrance to Shubra.

Governor Yusuf Sabri Abu-Talib, made a tour yesterday of the services and utilities in the quarter of al-Zaytun. During his visit, it was decided to have Engineer Ahmad Fawzi, the ministry's undersecretary for roads, pave the junction of al-Sharikat Street and Ibn al-Hukm Street as part of the project to pave the two streets centrally and renew the tiles of the sidewalks. The governor told 'Abd-al-Rahman Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, the head of al-Zaytun quarter, that it was necessary to plant flowers in the gardens in the squares.

The governor also advised Maj Gen 'Adil al-Sayyid, the deputy governor, and Maj Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Abd-al-'Al, the chairman of the Sanitation Board, of the need for coordination among the companies working in the quarter, so that there would be less refuse from the buildings that are being built. Moreover, he said that the New Egypt Company and the Public Transportation Authority should collect and remove the refuse produced by the repairs made to the metro and tram tracks.

The governor decided to have the vegetable and meat stalls that belong to the consumer cooperatives and do not serve the masses counted. He warned the companies that own them that any unused facilities would be removed immediately, as objects blocking the sidewalks and roads without authorization. In the case of such stalls, the very reason for their construction has disappeared; they were intended as outlets for the distribution of goods.



Yusuf Sabri Abu-Talib announced that the members of the emergency squads, which were assigned to the quarters by the sewers utility department, had actually arrived in the neighborhoods. They will work through the neighborhood agencies to eliminate at once any signs of flooding or rupture that happen in some old drainage pipes.

The governor asked Maj Gen Fahmi Jum'ah, the head of Central Operations, to follow the implementation of the project and work to realize the results of this tour by staying in contact with the agencies responsible for utilities and services. This remark came after the governor noted the improvement in bread production at the automatic bakeries and said that the same quality should be maintained at the private sector bakeries.

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EDITORIAL ON RETURN OF WAFD, MUHARRAM BEY ELECTIONS

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 9 Jan 84 pp 7, 9.

[Editorial by Sabri Abu al-Majd: "On the Question of the New Wafd Party and the Muharram Bey Elections"]

[Text] There are a few important issues on the domestic and foreign scenes, and objective positions have to be taken on these matters. The position to be taken on these issues should be a national not a partisan one so that right and truth can be achieved, particularly since many opposition voices are being heard, creating confusion around the position of the National Democratic Party and its government on these issues. Some factions of the opposition and those who work with them within the opposition and outside it have set off many smoke screens to make it difficult or impossible to see the truth. This is no more and no less than what is hoped for by those who are instinctively disposed to the opposition or those who oppose it.

It is indisputable that foremost among these issues is that of the New Wafd Party. Some people have tried to turn this issue into material for local and foreign consumption. They are trying to benefit from it just as the new party is benefiting from it.

Let me say at first that I was the first one to blame the New Wafd Party on the day after it announced in the presence of witnesses and at an international press conference that it was voluntarily disbanding itself. I had hoped--and the article is published and can be found--that it would suspend its activities and not disband itself. I would also say quite frankly and unequivocally that neither the government of the National Democratic Party nor the National Democratic Party [itself] was opposed to the re-establishment of the New Wafd Party. The matter was nothing more and nothing less than a legal difference of opinion, which it was thought, would be settled by going to court.

The issue, which I have experienced and lived with, has been and still is a purely legal issue. Political considerations have nothing to do with it and have no bearing on it whatsoever. A party that suddenly came forward, claiming that it had not disbanded itself but had rather suspended its activity presents its candidates for popular and local elections. Authorized agencies, acting on what they think are their legal rights, refuse to accept the candidacy papers that were being filed. Those who have an interest in the matter present their case in

summary proceedings in the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Administrative Court to stay the implementation of a decision to cancel the candidacy of the Wafd's nominees. The Circuit Court of Appeals of the Administrative Court ruled to accept the candidacy of the Wafd Party's nominees, and the government represented by its judicial department challenged that ruling. The Circuit Court of Appeals of the Administrative Court thought it would accept the government's appeal in form but reject it in substance. Although the Administrative Court has not yet ruled on the matter, Article 49 of the Council of State Law affirms that when the Administrative Court settles a case in summary proceedings, it can issue one of two rulings. First, it can rule to stay the implementation of the decree that is being appealed, but such a ruling would not be objective because it would depend on outside appearances. Second, it can turn the case to a board of commissioners who would prepare a report on the legal opinion about the appeal to cancel the candidacy of the nominees.

Although the appeal on the summary ruling stays implementation of the decree by having the appeal heard in summary proceedings by the Circuit Court of Appeals, that court can [issue one of two rulings]. It can either rule that the summary ruling is not to be carried out--and in that case the effect of the Administrative Court's ruling would be nullified and the situation legally would be restored to that of the time before the ruling was issued--or the Circuit Court of Appeals can turn down the appeal that is being filed against the summary ruling. In that case, the effect of the Administrative Court's ruling staying implementation of the administrative decree would be upheld until the Administrative Court settles the matter either by repealing the administrative decree once and for all or turning down the appeal to it. The ruling on the matter may be appealed to the Supreme Administrative Court even though legal stipulations state quite clearly that a ruling on the summary section has nothing to do with the subject in the first place. However, the government of the National Democratic Party did not wish to impede implementation of the summary decision, and it accepted the ruling gracefully. Its attitude toward the summary ruling was absolutely exemplary. It affirmed that its policy on the rule of law and its strategy, when it comes to liberties and democracy, were constant and invariable. Furthermore, Dr Fu'ad Muhi al-Din, prime minister and secretary general of the party would only say in commenting on the ruling of the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Administrative Court that every party that is established on the national scene is a new addition.

One may conclude from all the foregoing that the question of the New Wafd was and still is a purely legal question. The government of the National Party deserves to be commended on its attitude which is truly considered to be a new added chapter to its previous position of supporting democracy.

The other side of the coin--the legal and judicial issue--has to do with those who, also rather suddenly, began singing the praises of the Wafd again. These are the people who made a name for themselves in the press and on the political scene on the basis of a policy of tearing down the Wafd. They are also the people who before the 23 July 1952 Revolution and afterwards were engaged exclusively in efforts to discredit the Wafd.

I recall, for example, that one of those who are singing the praises of the Wafd had published numerous books against the party and against its founder Sa'd

Zaghlul, may he rest in peace. That person used language about the Wafd and about its first leader that Malik did not use in speaking about alcohol. Moreover, one of these people described the 1919 Revolution that was led by Sa'd Zaghlul, the founder of the Wafd Party as an action engineered by the British and by Sultan Husayn. We took it upon ourselves to respond to him at that time when he wanted to curry favor with leaders of the 23 July 1952 Revolution, affirming that Egypt had known no revolution whatsoever before the 23 July Revolution except the 23 July 1952 Revolution.

Those who turned from vicious attackers of the Wafd Party to its champions, defending its characteristics and its glories did not make the statements they made out of affection for the Wafd, as the leaders of the New Wafd Party know quite well, but rather out of hatred for the National Democratic Party.

I hope I am expressing the opinion of the political mainstream in Egypt when I say that public opinion in this mainstream was never more divided on a political matter as it has been on the matter of establishing the New Wafd Party. Some people are welcoming the establishment of this party based on the fact that it is a new addition to democracy which may enrich national political activity. They welcome the new Wafd on the basis of the fact that it is a new alternative to existing opposition parties whose practices have largely failed. Ever since they were established, these parties have confined themselves to personal attacks on leaders of the National Democratic Party. In over 2 years they did nothing but conduct repeated hostile campaigns against some national figures. They never tried to offer solutions to the public's problems. Their only concern has been to stir up the public and to make deals about their suffering and their troubles. One glance at what these parties published in the past 2 years shows that these parties did not utilize the good opportunities they had to contribute to solutions to the public's problems.

Some people think that the existence of a new party like the Wafd Party with its old record of daily partisan practice can generate new activity in Egypt's circles of partisan activity. They think it can set off waves of partisan activity in existing parties. Others think that the establishment of the New Wafd Party with its old figures constitutes a new setback for the 23 July 1952 Revolution. Those Wafd leaders do not acknowledge that the revolution was a revolution. They think it was a military coup that was supported by the people, and they don't think it did any good at all. Such statements were made a few years ago in Mr Fu'ad Siraj al-Din's address to the Bar Association on the anniversary of Sa'd and al-Nahhas. Those people are also saying that when the Wafd Party began in its new form, it made good progress in strengthening democracy. Then the party was taken over by some extremist elements that joined the Wafd only to make some gains. These people, who were known in the past to be quite opposed to the Wafd, are alien to the new Wafd and deviated from what the old, authentic Wafdis wanted. Thus, there emerged on the scene, before the Wafd suspended its activity--as its members say--or before it disbanded itself--as established documents indisputably assert, an invitation for a one-on-one confrontation. I do not wish to repeat their old chants which they are passing off as new. As far as I know those who wish to heighten political activity to the point of a clash are not true Wafdis. Let the old enemies of the Wafd stop defending the New Wafd because in their defense of the new party, they are hurting it more than they are benefiting it. Welcome to the rule of law, and welcome to the rulings of the court, particularly when they become irrevocable and final.

Many people have talked so much about the elections in Muharram Bey's Ghurbal Precinct that these elections have become legendary or semi-legendary. We must not make these elections more important than they are, particularly since run-off elections all over the world do not provide real indicators for the major battle.

In Britain, the birthplace of democracy, run-off elections are not given more significance than their normal significance. In fact, the British do not give these elections much attention, and that is based on the fact that run-off elections represent only a small part of public opinion. In many cases in Britain these elections produce indicators that are quite the opposite of general indicators.

Although I fault some people for attaching too much importance to the consequences of the Muharram Bey elections, I am not at the same time calling for disregarding them. In other words our view of these elections must be one that is central and 100 percent objective. While we are not to minimize their significance, we must also not attach too much importance to their results, particularly since they were not the first run-off elections. That precinct was also not the first precinct in which the National Democratic Party lost a parliamentary seat. Run-off elections had been held by the government of the National Democratic party in more than 25 precincts. The National Democratic Party won the elections in all those precincts except in that of al-Wadi al-Jadid. These elections were characterized by the fact that the administration was neutral and independent. This is a far-reaching affirmation of the fact that the government of the National Party is quite concerned about realizing democracy and that it is the government most able to supervise the new elections next May. Since we are talking about the Muharram Bey elections, I have to commend the government of the National Democratic Party, which realized the highest forms of democracy in these elections. I have to make a national not a partisan appeal for a study that would examine the phenomenon of people taking no interest in the elections. Many of us have become accustomed to disfranchising ourselves voluntarily as long as the outcome [of the voting process] is 99.9 percent and as long as the outcome is the same whether or not we vote. This serious phenomenon whose examination I am calling for is nothing new. Our professor, Dr Sayyid Sabri, professor of constitutional law at Cairo [Fu'ad] University had called for such an examination, affirming in figures that the ratio of voter participation in the elections before the Revolution did not in any case exceed 20 percent.

One statement remains to be made after that, and we address it to the opposition which has talked at length about these elections before they took place. Opposition party members filled the pages of their newspapers with statements [alleging] that the government of the National Party was following methods like those that were followed by Isma'il Sidqi Pasha. Those who attended all their election meetings, which were protected by the government, swear to the fact that the government of the National Party is interfering in the elections in favor of its candidate and that it is doing this and the other among other things that occurred only in their imagination. Today, we ask those people, "What do you think about the results of the elections? What do you think about all the allegations and lies that blemished your newspapers and charged that the government of the National Party intervened in these elections?" Is there hope that these people will admit to their mistakes? Is there hope that they will speak the truth at least once? Their past record indicates that they will not do that. However,

we are still hoping that these people will deviate from their plan once and speak the truth once, only once. We are not asking them to do anything more or less than speak the truth.

Is that possible, or is it virtually impossible?

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## ATTEMPTS BY OPPOSITION TO CHANGE ELECTION LAW DISCUSSED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 206, 21-27 Jan 84 pp 30-31

[Article by Wahid 'Abd-al-Majid: "Uproar in Egypt Over the Joint List"]

[Text] Cairo--The countdown has begun for the next parliamentary elections in Egypt in April 1984. But the opposition parties and the independents still have not agreed on a united position on the new party list electoral system. That has become clear in the last few days with the proposal for a joint list which was made by the head of the Liberal Party, Mustafa Kamil Murad. He first made this proposal during the Liberal Party conference held in the district of Muharram Bey in Alexandria on the evening of 2 December to support his nominee in the by-elections for the People's Assembly in this district. Mustafa Murad said: "The opposition parties must enter the elections for the People's Assembly with a single joint list."

Less than a week later, at a meeting held by his party in the Governorate of al-Minya on 8 December, the head of the Liberal Party again stated emphatically: "All the opposition parties have agreed in principle to enter the elections with a single list, with the exception of the NPUG Party, which we are on the verge of convincing."

Since the idea of the opposition entering the elections with a joint list is unprecedented, AL-MAJALLAH's Cairo office contacted the Labor Party and the NPUG Party to find out their views about it. Eng Ibrahim Shukri, the head of the Labor Party, said: "The idea of entering the elections with a joint list is merely a proposal by the head of the Liberal Party which we have not yet adopted." Asked what he thought about this proposal he said: "The head of the Liberal Party is trying to make an effort on his part to confront the difficulties facing the opposition parties because of the new election law. Our position is that we would prefer first to work on eliminating these difficulties in two ways: making an effort to reduce the 8 percent which the law stipulates as the minimum [amount of votes] necessary for any party to be represented in parliament; and obtaining guarantees for the election's honesty. It is necessary for us to work to eliminate the difficulties first so that the elections can be conducted in a normal atmosphere. If we are not able to accomplish that we will study this proposal." Asked about whether it would be possible to implement the proposal under the current situation he said: "It is too early to speak of that. The proposal by the head of the Liberal Party has no precedent,

so it is difficult for us to have a specific idea of the possibility of implementing it."

For another view AL-MAJALLAH asked Dr Rif'at al-Sa'id, the assistant secretary general of the NPUG Party (the third opposition party), about this proposal. He said: "The idea of entering the elections with a joint list has not been proposed to the NPUG Party. Therefore, we have not discussed it." On the party's position if the idea were proposed of it, he said: "It is a ridiculous and unacceptable idea. It is unimaginable that the NPUG Party would agree to it. A better idea would be for the parties to work together to amend the election law and not try to outsmart it. Were we to accept the idea we would be deceiving ourselves and the citizens. Such trickery besmirches the reputation of the opposition with the citizens."

#### The Significance of the Joint List

The joint list formula proposed by the Liberal Party seems to reflect one aspect of the dilemma which confronts the opposition parties because of the new election law (law 114 of 1983) which amends election law number 38 of 1972. The new law changed the electoral system from individual election to election by proportional party lists, with the proviso that any party must obtain at least 8 percent of the votes cast at the national level in order to be represented in the assembly. The new law contains the following text: "No party shall be represented in the assembly whose lists do not obtain at least 8 percent of the total valid votes cast at the national level."

Observers believe that the Liberal Party is the opposition party that will be hurt most by the effects of the new law. According to these observers the Labor Party can easily obtain 8 percent, and the NPUG Party has a good chance of obtaining this amount if the 1979 elections are used as a gauge. But the Liberal Party is definitely unable to obtain the required 8 percent. Perhaps this explains the Liberal Party head's inclination to propose the joint list formula to the other opposition parties. But as of now this formula clearly faces significant practical difficulties even if the Labor Party and the NPUG Party were to agree to it.

Most significant of these difficulties is the method of implementing the joint list formula. The new election law also prohibits more than one party from sharing a single election list. Therefore, the method envisaged by the head of the Liberal Party for implementing this formula is for the parties to agree on a single party to enter the elections with the candidates of the other two parties on its lists. This would require these candidates to resign from their parties and nominally join the selected party. After the elections are over the candidates will resign and rejoin their parties. But using this method necessarily would have an effect on the electorate's opinion of the opposition parties because it would confirm the accusations of the ruling National Party that the one goal of these parties is to obtain bases in government or parliament.

This is what Dr Rif'at al-Sa'id pointed out when he said that this method would cause the opposition to lose respect among the citizens. He emphasized that the



National Party would focus its propaganda on this angle to embarrass the opposition parties in front of the electorate. This is particularly true in view of the fact that the leaders of the three parties are among the most prominent of the opposition candidates. The significance of that is that two of them will be compelled to resign from their parties and join the party chosen to enter the elections with its list. This alone is enough to confuse the electorate about the true positions of the leaders of the opposition parties.

In addition there are legal difficulties surrounding the joint list formula, the most important of which is the fact that the party law requires any party to inform the party affairs committee in the event its leader resigns, and then inform it of the party's new head. The matter, then, is completely impractical, and its disadvantages for the opposition parties outweigh its advantages. Dr 'Izzat Ibrahim, professor of constitutional law at Cairo University, said: "The matter of changing parties during the elections would be a sensitive issue within the framework of the party list electoral system. Under this system the voters choose the party and not the person. Therefore, if the person who is elected wanted to leave his party for another it would be necessary to hold another election."

#### The Possibilities of an Amendment

Statements by the head of the Labor Party and the assistant secretary of the NPUG Party to AL-MAJALLAH indicate that the prevailing feeling among the opposition parties is that an effort must be made to convince the government to amend the new election law. But the chances for the opposition to succeed in this effort are linked to their ability to put effective pressure on the government.

At this point the parties clearly do not have this ability, particularly with the continued disagreement between them and the independents over the new election law. The parties are attempting to abolish or amend (or circumvent) the 8 percent provision, while the independents want to change the party list system completely because it prevents them from running as independents. Unless the parties and the independents reach an agreement it will be impossible for the opposition to convince the government to amend the election law. Even in the event of an agreement this task remains formidable. The government and the National Party are clearly in agreement in preferring the party list electoral system. Hasan Hafiz, a National Party member of the People's Assembly, said that this consensus is based on a true conviction that this system is better. He referred to the minutes of the 81st session of the 4th meeting of the People's Assembly last 18 July, which said: "Election of the individual destroys the feeling of party affiliation and makes the candidate beholden and loyal to the voter alone. After his victory this often compels him to put his private interest above the public interest." Several days after he assumed the chairmanship of the People's Assembly, Dr Muhammad Kamil Laylah announced his commitment to the new election system. He reminded the opposition that election by list with proportional representation had been one of its basic demands. He added: "They demanded the system which we have implemented, then we reduced the percentage from 10 to 8 percent. If they say that there are countries which allow 5 percent or less, there are also countries which require 12 percent or more." It is well-known that Dr Laylah is the one who prepared the draft of the new election

law in the preceding session of the People's Assembly, when he headed its legislative committee, so he can be expected to be highly committed to it now since it is clear that his effort in formulating this law was an important factor in his rise to the chairmanship of the assembly. Therefore it will be an extremely difficult task for the opposition parties to amend the law.

Besides that, some independents still vigorously oppose any partial amendment in this law which would not allow them to run for office as independents. They prefer to challenge the constitutionality of this law in court.

#### The Constitutionality of the Election Law

This situation presents another possibility: a court challenge by the opposition parties to the constitutionality of the new election law if their efforts to amend it fail. AL-MAJALLAH asked two experts on constitutional law in Egypt for their opinion. Each of them presented a distinguished opinion. Dr 'Izzat Ibrahim, professor of constitutional law at the University of Cairo, said: "The transition from the individual electoral system of the proportional party list system is completely constitutional. The constitution stipulates only that the election be direct, that is, a single phase, and that it be public with secret ballots. The party list electoral system achieves this, and this system is no way infringes on the election or right of candidacy which are guaranteed by the constitution. The constitution has left the method of implementing elections and the right to candidacy to law. This is what actually happened in the enactment of the new election law."

But Dr Muhammad 'Arif, professor of constitutional law at the University of Alexandria, describes it differently: "The new election law may be unconstitutional because it infringes on the right of all citizens to run for office on an equal basis, which is guaranteed by the constitution. The new law restricts this right in practice to members of the political parties which actually exist and disqualifies independents from running for office as independents. This means that there is a differentiation between citizens in which conditions are imposed restricting the right of some of them to run for office. This differentiation conflicts with the constitutional principle of complete equality among citizens. Another doubtful aspect about the constitutionality of this law is in its disqualifying a district's winning candidate from entering the People's Assembly merely because his party did not obtain a total of 8 percent of the votes in the other districts."

What the disagreement among constitutional lawyers in Egypt about the constitutionality of the new election law means is that if the opposition parties resort to lawsuits as one of the alternatives available to them, the outcome is unknown. The legal experts of these parties seem to understand this. If they did not, they would not be reluctant to challenge the constitutionality of the new election law. So what will the opposition parties do next? The question will remain during the next 3 months before the voters go to the polls to elect 448 members of the new People's Assembly on which the form of democracy practiced in Egypt until the end of the 1980's will be based.

9123

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SPECIALIST CRITICIZES CURRENT EDUCATIONAL LENIENCY

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Jan 84 p 7

[Article by Mustafa Mahmud: "Education without Upbringing"]

[Text] The main headlines in the crime papers today are taken up by university students and graduates of faculties. The heads of the gangs that break into apartments and open safes are now university students and educated young people. We have progressed, thanks be to God; we have developed from the notion of education and upbringing to education without upbringing.

The subject of good conduct, behavior and diligence in the past was a pass or fail subject, and a person who had to take this subject over again did not have the right to enter the final examination at all. Afterward we considered it a form of compassion and simplification for the students to eliminate this condition, which is a moral condition, in order to pave the way to success for young people who had no morals.

That was not the only road to compassion. Aren't we still offering everyone a free [education] which does not differentiate between the person who passes and the person who has to repeat, and the active and the lazy person? Haven't we allowed the student who failed for a number of years to have the same rights to this free education as the aware, competent, independent thinking student who takes firm hold of himself and slaves and toils in order to pass? We have forgotten that to reward the lazy person is at the same time to do injustice to the active person, and that equality in free education is more than injustice; this free education by which we reward the repeat student means bringing him up to become a beggar and accustoming the student to take without giving, to take his expenses from the government and not stay up late over his lessons, to accustom him to stealing, because he is not receiving his rights in exchange for something, but occupies the chair in which he sits for a number of years and unjustifiably deprives others who stand in lines waiting for this right.

Is this compassion?

Not at all. It is the height of cruelty to persons who are entitled to this chair and are standing in line waiting. I had understood that we would be

guiding this free education, would be giving it to everyone at the start of the journey in execution of the principle of equality of opportunities, then depriving repeat students of it after that, so that students repeating the first year would pay a reregistration fee of no less than 100 pounds for their repeat studies, and, if they repeated again, would pay a reregistration fee of 200 pounds, then, if they repeated a third year, would pay 300 pounds, and so forth, so that each one of us would feel responsibility and feel that there were no rights without obligations, and no taking without giving, which is the first lesson that our children should learn in their education.

Free education, in its present form, is a blatant education in begging and stealing. Before our eyes this education has borne fruit in the form of beggars who break open safes and break into apartments, and students who lead gangs, spend money on dancing girls, and stay up late drinking in cabarets.

We do not advocate abrogating free education; we just ask that it be guided and be withheld from lazy, incompetent people who are not entitled to it.

If the number of students has now risen to 10 million and if the millions of repeat students pay reregistration fees, these fees will constitute aid of no less than 300 million pounds a year to the education budget in any case, and that is capital which the ministry can seek the aid of to build schools and meet the existing deficiency in laboratories, workshops, classrooms and the printing of textbooks and with which it can increase teachers' wages several times over.

Teachers today are in need of teachers and in need of institutes to prepare teachers, and before all else they are in need of at least a threefold increase in salary so that we can entice people with high capabilities to be receptive to the teaching profession. The profession has declined, and the people in it have declined, to the point where some of the people working in it are below caliber. The teacher is to be forgiven, for how can we ask him to have high qualifications and capabilities in exchange for 40 pounds a month, which will not pay for bread and the necessary sustenance? The ludicrous thing is that at the same time we are giving students a free education and are paying everything for them, and then asking nothing of them and not holding them to account for anything, while officials in the Ministry of Education say that is a political slogan which one cannot turn back from. However, we are not asking that they turn back from it; we are just asking that it be guided, so that lazy people will not exploit it, and so that it will not go to people who are not entitled to it.

The nationwide papers have given us provocative headlines on university students, the graduates of this degenerate type of education without upbringing, who break open safes and break into apartments, and form gangs to steal and kill. Will we wake up, and will the officials wake up, or will the self-deception continue under the veil of slogans, cries and auctioneering over promises and talk and knowledge, which is like water and air?

What knowledge is this that our schools are giving to their students?

We have fallen 100 years behind the cavalcade of progress.

The computer, gentlemen, now is in every secondary school, indeed, the home computer is the latest rage, and 10-year-olds are now first of all, in their homes and schools, learning how to program computers, and how to feed computer memories. We are still lost, in planting, reaping, threshing and writing.

What free education is it that we are hearing about anyway? I pay more than the annual tuition at Harvard for private lessons for my son.

Gentlemen, take off the masks, so that we can face reality frankly. There has been enough hiding of heads in the sand, enough covering up with slogans, and enough plating over of holes and cracks with words and with auctioneering. The rips have become too large to be mended, it has become necessary to confront ourselves and develop the plan, and it is necessary to calculate the changes.

The population, which was 20 million, now totals 46 million, and in 10 years it will exceed 90 million. Every second a new child is born, requiring the birth of an equivalent new overseer for a new school. Is the existing plan suited to this population bomb?

The auctioneering over words will not be of any use; worn-out slogans will not be of benefit; eloquence will not be of aid.

The issue now is one of computing, in figures, what is necessary and what is possible, the length of our legs and the length of our comforters. The government's comforter is not adequate, and it is necessary that everyone take part, individuals, groups, students and guardians, in bearing the burden, each according to his ability.

If we insist further on auctioneering and slogans and insist further on hiding our heads in sand, we will go deeper and deeper down into the sand. The sand is moving, the graduates we are furnishing for the scene of crimes will increase, and education without upbringing will be turned into education without upbringing.

A few days ago we read an announcement in the newspapers of a verdict in the case of the gang of students that burglarized 40 apartments, and here it is, a year at hard labor. Is this verdict deterrence or is it compassion? For whom is it compassion, the burglar or his victim?

We lived in an era when students did arithmetic by their fingers, ironed their fezes, shone their shoes and kept their clothes clean. The overseer would pass over the morning line, expel any student who neglected his cleanliness, and prevent him from going to class.

In that era, cleanliness was an essential entry card to school, and morality was a condition for admission.

Now, however, cleanliness and the absence of it are the same, passing and repeating are the same, and individual intellectual effort and negligence are the same, in the face of the generosity of the government, which does not distinguish between the one and the other in its treatment. They thought that what they had done was show compassion to for us and our children, and they have forgotten that the most compassionate of the merciful persons from whom we learn compassion did not treat the doers of good and the doers of harm equally in their balance, but assessed the maximum bounties for the doers of good and the maximum deprivation for the doers of harm.

The supreme example in heaven and on earth is God's, and from him we learn.

11887

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INTERVIEW WITH 'ABD-AL-SALAM JALLUD

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 20 Jan 84 p 11

[Interview with Maj 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud, in Damascus, by editor Talal Salman: "A Conversation with 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud About the Struggle and About Conducting It: May 1984 Be a Hot Year in Order That the U.S. Plan be Thwarted and in Order That Reagan Be Defeated in Lebanon"; date of interview not specified]

[Text] The Arabs must support the Lebanese who are fighting alone and are fighting their battle on behalf of them.

The visit has not changed our position, and we are on the side of the Salvation Front and Amal and their allies.

Wherever you see rifles you also see the PLO, and we have succeeding in crystallizing a progressive Palestinian position.

Staff Maj 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud, a man who follows in the footsteps of Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi and represents him, prefers dialogues of an intellectual nature rather than interviews dealing purely with political events as such. Even when he talks about current events, he deals with them from a particular point of view and on the basis of an overall analysis.

To people who know him, Maj Jallud is a good dialogue partner. However, those who do not know him accuse him of being an extremist, of fanatically adhering to his views, and of being hotheaded. The fact is that, when involved in a discussion, he mobilizes all of his intellect, emotions, and feelings. When he talks to you, he uses gestures, he uses his eyes, he changes his facial expressions, and he utilizes all of the practical knowledge that he has in addition to all of the knowledge that he has gained from reading. All of this is in addition to his high-strung Bedouin nature and extreme sensitivity when he is involved with the fundamental issues that have been crucial in his career such as Arab unity, the Palestine cause, socialism, and pan-Arab thought during their various stages.

This interview with Maj Jallud was held in Damascus a few days ago, but its publication was held up due to "technical reasons," including the prevailing

political "climate." The interview focuses on the number one topic which preoccupies the leaders of the 1 September 1969 Revolution in Libya--how to conduct the struggle with the Israeli enemy and basically how to conduct this struggle with U.S. imperialism which stands behind the Israelis and which utilizes Israel as a spearhead to attack and discipline those who do not go along with U.S. policy.

### The Angry Generation

Our first question concerned Maj Jallud's expectations for the new year in view of the past and present situation in the principal Arab arenas such as the Palestinian arena and the Lebanese arena, with the particular roles that they play in the basic Arab-Israeli conflict.

Maj Jallud, a man whom revolutionary thought and the leadership of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi induced to leave his hometown of Birak in southern Libya and plunge right into the middle of the Arab struggle to achieve a better future, replied as follows:

"We in Libya view what is going on right now as the beginnings of what we have been predicting for the last few years. Our cries and our appeals have not been in vain. Our practices which involve the masses have begun to be accepted and to take their rightful place in political thought and when conducting dialogues with the masses. This is an important change which has taken place in today's Arab world.

"Right after the Israeli invasion, and all of the massacres of Lebanese and Palestinians which resulted from it, we predicted that an angry generation would emerge. We believe that what is happening right now is confirmation of the accuracy of our predictions. It is exactly the same as when we predicted that there would be a revolution in Ethiopia, in spite of the fact that others believed that it was impossible to bring about the downfall of Haile Selassie. The same was also true in the case of Iran, where many people believed that the Shah would stay in power forever."

Maj Jallud, his voice full of confidence, went on to say: "We feel that a new stage is about to begin in the Arab world and that there are signs of the beginning of a process which will result in mass rebellions throughout the Arab arena. Our assessment is that what is occurring in Lebanon will serve to crystallize these mass movements. As this happens, it will enhance the positive consequences which have resulted from the rebellion in the Fatah organization and the Palestinian arena in general. Furthermore, there are clear signs of revolutionary activity in Sudan, Somalia, and in other arenas.

"After the Palestinian resistance organizations and the Lebanese national forces were defeated by the Zionist invasion which took on the form of a campaign of genocide, the progressive Arabs did not lift a finger. We, however, did act. We invited five Palestinian groups to meet and conduct a dialogue with us, and we explored and clarified the present situation in the Arab world. The basic conclusions which we arrived at were, among other



things, the following: The cause of revolution in the Arab world is a pan-Arab issue, and not merely a social issue [involving particular Arab nations]. The forces of reaction have dealt a blow to the Arab liberation movement by dealing a blow to the Palestinian resistance movement, by taming this movement, and by forcing it to join the camp of those who favor making peace [with Israel].

"Another conclusion that we arrived at was the fact that the crisis in the Arab world is a crisis in terms of our ideology, our masses, and our policy. The Palestinian revolution as a central issue is not a revolution according to the real definition of the word. How can a movement be a revolution when its leaders are rightists and reactionaries?

"We also paused to consider what policy to follow with regard to the severe crisis which is being experienced by the Arab forces of political opposition.

"We felt that the solution was to be found in rebelling against the status quo and attempting to overturn it, by force if necessary. This is why we supported our brothers who led the rebellion within the Fatah organization.

"It was by virtue of the same criterion that we made the decision to support the forces of rebellion in Lebanon which are represented by the National Salvation Front and the Amal Movement. Along with--in fact, before--supporting these two organizations, we have given our support to the massive [Lebanese] national resistance movement which partly derives its greatness from the fact that it is 'unknown,' does not blow its horns or beat its drums, does not put up posters and announcements, and does not engage in a lot of empty propaganda in the media.

"It was logical that we should also decide to continue and even increase our support for the progressive position taken by Syria.

"In our view, all of these forces constitute gleams of radiant light in the darkness of the present situation in the Arab world."

#### Money and Blood

We then talked for a long time about heroic South Lebanon, about Sidon which has once again returned to the arena of battle as a noble knight possessing legendary force, and we exchanged our knowledge of events and happenings with each other. We also mentioned "Abu-Husam." Maj Jallud was in a mood to deal with this matter at length, and he began his remarks in this vein by saying the following, with great enthusiasm:

"These radiant moments have, in turn, reaffirmed an old axiom which we in Libya have always insisted upon. It is the issue of the armed struggle as a basic means to achieve liberation and wage revolution. What has happened is that everyone now is convinced that changing the deteriorating status quo cannot be done by means of speeches and communiques. It has to be done by means of making a tangible effort. This very thing is being done by the Lebanese national resistance movement whose operations, in our opinion, have

shown that this movement has risen to the highest level of that engaged in by freedom-fighters who give their lives for their country. We even feel that this includes the great suicide operations that have been carried out--unlike others, who disapprove of them because they are afraid of being labelled as terrorists. Such people, for example, disapprove of the attack made on the U.S. Marine headquarters and other such operations. We feel that these operations are far superior to those suicidal operations which were engaged in by the Japanese, and we feel that this trend should be encouraged and reinforced.

"Although these operations have been labelled terrorism and those who participate in them have been called terrorists, we have still remained able to view things in a sound manner and to correctly discriminate concerning matters. Consequently, our view is that terrorism is what the battleship New Jersey has been engaging in, is what the U.S. forces in Grenada engaged in, and is what U.S. and Israeli forces have been engaging in in Lebanon. This is something which is real terrorism and is something which should be condemned and resisted. It is not terrorism when nations defend themselves with all of the weapons which their fervent belief enables them to utilize.

"We are going to urge that this trend be continued and we are of the opinion that the armed struggle should be carried out in the entire Arab world. What is happening in Lebanon is that the Lebanese are fighting the battle of all of the Arabs and are fighting their battle on behalf of them. They are giving their lives every day in defense of the honor of the Arab nation and of all Arabs. This is why it is necessary for the Arabs--particularly the progressive Arabs--to shoulder the responsibility of supporting the Lebanese people and supporting their active national forces. It is within this framework that we--when participating in the next Arab summit meeting or in any conference--will propose establishing a fund to support the Lebanese people and their vanguard organizations rallying around the Salvation Front and the Amal Movement as well as all persons who are fighting to foil the U.S.-Israeli-Phalangist plan and thereby 'bury the corpse of the 17 May agreement,' in the words of Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, head of the Higher Shi'a Council.

"We are also prepared to provide various types of assistance to the Lebanese people and to South Lebanon in particular. In this regard, and out of sympathy with the efforts made by Nabih Barri to market agricultural products, we declare that we are prepared to provide whatever assistance is required of us in this realm. In our opinion, this is the least that the Arabs can do for the Lebanese people. Is it not the least that we can do for them if we provide some material support to people who give their lives for the sake of their nation?!"

#### The Vacuum, the Revival, and Religious Faith

We then dealt with the subject of the revival which is taking on religious overtones and the role of Islam in the unleashing of latent revolutionary forces. We discussed the phenomena of this revival in the various areas of Lebanon--including South Lebanon, the Biqa' Valley, and North Lebanon--and the

phenomena of this revival in the rest of the Arab world. Maj Jallud had a definite opinion concerning this matter, and he said:

"In view of the political and ideological vacuum, it is only natural that the revival take on religious overtones. Certainly some of the characteristics of the Ja'fari [Twelver] Shi'a doctrine have provided this religious revival with a certain degree of militancy. If we look at Iran, for example, we see the phenomenon of Khomeyni as a leader of the masses whose power is based on the principle of rule by a religious leader [velayat-e faqih] and this is one of the fundamental principles of the Shi'a doctrine. There religious fervor, under a leader of the masses, has filled the vacuum and has been transformed into a type of ideological fervor which has so much thrust that no one has the power to stop it."

Maj Jallud added, when recalling the plots that have been hatched for Lebanon in general and for Beirut and its southern suburbs in particular:

"Under such circumstances it is only natural that hostile parties would be active and endeavor to promote plans having the objective of bringing about sectarian strife and dividing the Sunni and Shi'a Muslims from each other once more, and it is only natural that these efforts would be concentrated on Beirut and its suburbs. If one unleashes strife there, it will result in political consequences, echoes, and repercussions all over the eastern part of the Arab world. However, we are confident that the Arab people in Lebanon--and in Beirut and its southern suburbs in particular--have sufficient awareness to prevent such intrigues from having any effect on them. The masses in Beirut who support the national forces have been waging their national and pan-Arab struggle for a long time, and they are now being called upon to play a more effective role in opposing the plan which has the objective of fragmenting and encircling the areas occupied by the national forces. The national and Islamic forces are being called upon to resist attempts to create strife, to rebel against the traditional leaders who are endeavoring to thwart the popular revival movement, and to keep these leaders off balance in order to prevent a strong alliance from being achieved between the various forces supporting the Zionist-Phalangist plan for Lebanon. All the national, progressive, and Islamic forces are being called upon to do this.

"The heroic operations being undertaken in Sidon against the Israeli occupation forces should serve as an impetus and an incentive for Tripoli to survive and emerge from its crisis and dilemma imposed upon it by the presence of Yasir 'Arafat there and his exit from that city. The progressive Muslim national masses must once again play their fundamental role of opposing the plans which have the objective of partitioning and fragmenting Lebanon and destroying its national forces."

Lebanon Is the Battle of All the Arabs

I asked: "But how can we guarantee the continuance of the pace of this revival in order that the masses achieve their aspirations? How can we do this when circumstances are as they are in Lebanon, with the nation having

been torn apart by 9 years of war--a war which could be described as a civil war, a regional war, and an international war?"

Maj Jallud replied: "Our mission as revolutionaries is embodied and reaffirmed in our support for this popular revival movement and in our enabling it to achieve all of its objectives. The mission of its leaders is to firmly anchor and establish this revival and provide it with a framework consisting of an overall political and military plan. These leaders must also address the masses, seek inspiration from them, and unleash their tremendous power and capacities to fight against the enemies of their people and their nation.

"At this point I would like to mention the fact that the Salvation Front and Amal Movement need to have a higher degree of organization. In particular, they need to set up their own institutions rather than being content to merely have fighting militias, and they need to renounce their narrow party policies and cease maintaining the exclusive character of their fighting units.

"In this regard, the rebellion inside the Fatah movement and the Palestinian resistance movement should provide a new pattern of relations with the Lebanese people. This new pattern should make people forget the resentment that they have felt as a result of the course of action followed by those who have deviated from the correct path, those who have been trying to climb to higher positions, and those who have been bargaining with the revolution and with Palestine. Yes, indeed. The 'rebellion' should provide a new pattern which will earn it the respect of the Lebanese freedom-fighters and should support them rather than present itself as an alternative to them-- which is what was attempted under the leadership of Yasir 'Arafat.

"In addition to this, the Arabs should prepare to enter into this battle and to do their part and contribute their share in order to support this effort because the fate of the whole Arab nation depends on the outcome of the battle in Lebanon. If we are defeated in Lebanon, this will open up the path for Reagan to implement his hostile plans.

"The Arabs must engage in political, financial, and military efforts to support the Lebanese people in order to enable them to liberate their land and to become politically independent. The outcome of the battle in Beirut and in South Lebanon means either a victory or a defeat for all of the Arabs. The least that the Arabs can do is to help their freedom-fighting brethren in Lebanon as they shoulder the burdens of the battle in the name of and on behalf of the Arab nation. Furthermore, this battle is necessary for our progress. The Arabs will never advance unless they fight their enemies and fight against those in their ranks who support their enemies. We must not forget that Lebanon is the arena of an international struggle. Also, we must always remember that thwarting the 17 May agreement is something which will bring great honor to the people of Lebanon. The reason for this is that the failure of this agreement will mean putting an end to the series of unilateral peace agreements, the first of which were the Camp David agreements."

## Plan for Conducting the Struggle

We once again took up the matter of what the leaders of the 1 September 1969 Revolution anticipate and expect with regard to the fate of the struggle during the foreseeable future, and we discussed the tasks being proposed for the forces engaging in conducting this bitter and open struggle. Concerning this matter, Maj Jallud said:

"Let us first agree concerning a few fundamentals. One of these fundamental facts is that we are a part of this world. It is our duty to understand the nature of the struggle which is going on between the forces which are affecting the world. As long as the U.S. is hostile to us and supports our enemy, then we as well as the democratic forces in the West itself must rely on the socialist camp for support. In view of the existence of the nuclear balance of terror there can be no war in Europe and in the industrialized world. War is being waged only within--and against--the Third World. This is why I stress the fact that we must rely on the power of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp for support. This is particularly true in the case of countries which are on the front lines of this war such as Libya, Syria, Ethiopia, Cuba, and Nicaragua. The West is endeavoring to crush the spread of revolutionary movements. We, however, are endeavoring to extend them, develop them, and develop methods of engaging in them. Educated Arabs are showing more readiness to propose a plan for conducting this struggle both on the pan-Arab and international level. On the basis of the laws of revolution, we feel that the present situation is a cause for optimism."

## The U.S.-Phalangist Plan

We then talked about U.S. policy, about Reagan, about the plots which Reagan is hatching for Lebanon and the Middle East, and about the tasks that have been proposed to the national, pan-Arab, and progressive forces for frustrating the U.S.-Israeli plan. Concerning these matters, Maj Jallud said:

"According to our information, there is a U.S.-Phalangist plan that was recently agreed upon in Washington. Right now we are feeling some of the immediate effects of the initial applications of this plan.

"The Americans want 1984 to be a quiet year in order that Reagan be reelected and lose as little of his support as possible. For this reason, their plan to keep the situation in the Middle East quiet consists of utilizing the following 'tricks':

1. Pretending to the Arabs that it would be all right to consider the 17 May agreement a laudable one, but to shelve it and, in practice, forget it and thereby avoid putting it into effect.
2. Claiming that the Reagan administration does not want to engage in any new initiatives during this year since it is an election year, and asking people for a respite until 1985.
3. Taking advantage of the Arab conflicts or local conflicts within each country.

"It is within this framework that we should understand the offers that are being made to all the people in Lebanon who are lusting for power and seeking high positions, and it is within this framework that we should understand these attempts to sow discord.

"No matter what the Amal Movement says concerning us--particularly in connection with the visit--we remain allies of this movement, of the Salvation Front, and of everyone who is fighting against the enemy with his own rifle or with whatever means are at his disposal.

"Libya is a party which is basically involved in this pan-Arab issue, and what is going on in Lebanon concerns us as it concerns all Arabs. For this reason, we are extending a helping hand to all of those who are fighting against the Israeli occupation and against the Phalangist domination which is associated with it. We will support Syria with all means at our disposal and we will fight together with Syria and with the Lebanese and Palestinian national forces in order to prevent the liquidation of the Palestine cause, to prevent the Arab liberation movement from being destroyed, and to prevent the U.S. from once again returning to the Middle East as an imperialist power."

#### Defeating Reagan in Lebanon

"In Lebanon, for example, they are attempting to help assure Reagan's reelection by exploiting the conflicts there in order to bring about a period of tranquility which would enable them to claim that they have succeeded in coming up with a solution. Right now they are engaging in great efforts to attract the services of some people who are anxious to grab high positions, and they are doing this by engaging in a lot of talk about the new government.

"The U.S. plan in general has the objective of having 1984 be a cooling off period and a year when there are no active crises. However, our point of view is a revolutionary one, and we will endeavor to have this year be a hot one. We will endeavor to further escalate the confrontation with the Israeli enemy and the U.S. forces in Lebanon and the confrontation with those who are cooperating with Israel. This will cause Reagan to fail in Lebanon and will result in the annihilation of the Phalangist plan or at least it will force the Phalangists to accept the terms of the national forces and go along with the demands of the majority of the Lebanese people."

#### Legitimacy and the PLO

Finally we asked Maj Jallud why he was prolonging the period of his stay in Damascus. We asked him what he had accomplished during this visit by meeting with the various parties that he had come to see--including Syrians, Palestinians, and Lebanese. He had come to Damascus to see the Lebanese parties involved because many of the leaders in the National Salvation Front have set up their headquarters in Damascus and use Damascus as their base of operations. Maj Jallud had the following to say concerning these matters:

"I came here and met and had discussions with my Syrian, Palestinian, and Lebanese friends concerning what one might call our 'plan for conducting the struggle' with our enemies. I concentrated my efforts on crystallizing a definite Palestinian position which would help to crystallize an overall Arab position. Through our meetings, we succeeded in crystallizing a progressive position of this type, and it will be adhered to by the following five Palestinian organizations--the rebellion group in Fatah, the PFLP, the General Command, Sa'iqah, and the PSF. In this regard, they are being supported by the legitimate [Palestinian political organizations], which were represented by Khalid al-Fahum, head of the Palestine National Council and the Central Council. Also, the Palestinian Communist Party has given its support."

When we discussed the matter of legitimacy, Maj Jallud quickly added:

"The revolution and the PLO are inseparable. Wherever there is a rifle, you will find the PLO there. Whoever gives up his rifle is also renouncing the PLO. The Palestinian people created the PLO by virtue of the blood of their martyrs after the revolution transformed the Palestinian people from being a refugee people into being a fighting people.

"If we want to thwart the policy of appeasement and capitulation, then this will require a new way of conducting the struggle and will require the escalation of military action on every possible front. We are meeting with those concerned in an effort to mobilize all of the means of achieving this."

As we said good-bye to Maj Jallud, he told us to convey his feelings of admiration and esteem to the Lebanese people in general, to the heroes of the national and pan-Arab struggle in Sidon and South Lebanon, and to everyone who is raising his rifle and firing in the right direction--against the enemy and those who stand behind him.

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HAWATIMAH ON PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION'S PROBLEMS

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 3 Jan 84 p 14

[Interview with Nayif Hawatimah, DFLP secretary general, in Tunis: "Skipping Over Collective Resolutions Caused Difficulties in Fatah; We Demand New Relations that Respect Collective Leadership"; date not specified]

[Text] AL-KHALIJ's correspondent was conducting his interview with Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP], when pro-'Arafat Palestinian forces were on the high seas headed for their new positions. The meeting between Abu 'Ammar and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak had not taken place yet, and no one expected it in such a dramatic manner. Therefore, an atmosphere of immediacy prevailed over the interview, and the biggest question that presented itself to the Palestinian revolution and political observers was: What next after Tripoli? The interview focussed special attention on the development of unionist relations between the two chief PLO detachments after Fatah, the Popular Front and the Democratic Front, and on the horizons and universality of such unionist steps. The interview touched on Syrian-Palestinian relations, Palestinian turn towards Jordan, and political plans put forward as a solution to the Palestinian question.

While Abu 'Ammar's meeting with the Egyptian president put this "unexpected event" in the spotlight, this does not mean that the aforementioned questions have been put on the sidelines, rather they have taken on added merit. Following is the text of the interview given by Hawatimah to AL-KHALIJ's correspondent in Tunis where Hawatimah was on a working visit to the Tunisian capital.

Tripoli Is Not the End of the World

[Question] The question being raised by everyone now is what next after Tripoli with respect to the Palestinian revolution? In other words, what are the horizons of Palestinian action in the next phase?

[Answer] In our view, North Lebanon is not the end of the revolution's and the PLO's world. The revolution's boundaries do not stop at Lebanon's northern borders. Similarly, the political, tactical and popular boundaries of the PLO, be they local, regional or international, do not stop at north Lebanon's boundaries and geography. To be sure, the revolution must, in the wake of Tripoli,



initiate a critical, comprehensive military, political and organizational review of the whole gamut of its conditions and network of relations inside the occupied territories and in all the Arab areas of refuge and dispersion if it hopes to effect changes in the form of mass, political and armed actions inside the occupied Palestinian territories, owing to the fact that the enduring grass roots base of the Palestinian revolution is in the occupied territories and among Palestinian ranks suffering under the occupation. Having been robbed of its ability to use its heavy artillery in the face of enemy forces, the Palestinian revolution will be able to introduce necessary military techniques inside Palestinian occupied territory in an effort to persevere in its resistance. We must bear in mind that the Salvadoran revolution, though encircled on all sides and denied of all border areas, has been able to introduce methods and techniques in Salvadoran territory to develop its overall revolutionary position. It has actually built internal staging bases to resist the authoritarian military clique, while being denied the ability to penetrate any neighboring borders in the service of its revolutionary process inside its country. We are now facing a great challenge that enjoins us to develop our conditions inside the occupied territory and build up our military action so as to replace staging areas in Arab countries with bases in the occupied territories for attacking occupation forces. It also enjoins us to unify all national and democratic forces and leading personalities in the occupied territory within a framework of a united national front representing the chief social, popular, labor union and political elements of the daily struggle against occupation, settlement and annexation, under the banner of our people's right to self-determination, independence and the establishment of its national state on its national soil.

As for the PLO in the wake of Tripoli, it must first undertake a critical review of the situation in order to develop its internal conditions in their entirety. It has become obvious that the stronghold is being destroyed from within because all attempts at annihilation and extermination made during the past 18 years in a series of daily wars mingled with six major wars--three at the hands of occupation and three at Arab hands--could not have inflicted the kind of extensive damage suffered by the PLO in recent months as a result of the invasion of the Palestinian stronghold from within. This calls for getting to the root of the problem and not just what has drifted to the surface, in view of the fact that the unknown is always more awesome. This requires a series of extensive purges in PLO military, administrative, political and diplomatic apparatuses that have growing numbers of corrupt bourgeois forces whose interests are detrimental to the growth of the revolution. Democracy must pervade PLO ranks and institutions on political and multi-partisan grounds that guarantees everyone's right to participate in the decision-making process in conformity with individual capabilities based on proportional representation as well as respect for collective military, organizational and political resolutions issued by the PLO's legitimate instructions. This enables the revolution and the organization to make up for the consequences of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon and the attendant events.

The revolution can herewith grow and expand inside the occupied territories. The PLO must safeguard Palestinian national unity within its framework on the basis of democratic internal relations among the fronts and respect for common

denominator programs and resolutions, thereby opening a new path among our people's ranks through firm commitment, balanced relations with Arab countries and a consolidated position and international reputation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Post-Beirut events could not have taken place had the internal conditions of the Palestinian stronghold been in order within the framework of unified, cohesive democratic, multifarious relations based on a firm commitment to common programs and resolutions by the PLO's legitimate institutions.

The deviation of the Palestinian national bourgeoisie, represented by Fatah as its main organized party, a deviation towards individualist Palestinian decision-making, disregard for collective decisions and collective leadership, and a persistent monopoly over the organization's institutions generated a series of internal problems we are still suffering from, and gave justification for the current destructive operations within the Palestinian stronghold. We have always pointed out the perils of such a monopolistic and individualistic policy that skips over collective decisions and leadership. I personally stood before the Palestinian National Council [PNC] in Algiers in February 1983 to warn against this defect in the internal situation of PLO and Palestinian resistance institutions and to demand a new phase in democratic relations that honor collective decisions and leadership, introduce widespread diversity within the organization's ranks and purge its agencies of corrupt elements and hypocritical bourgeoisie. But our Fatah brothers' persistence and individualistic tendencies kept things as they were from the viewpoint of necessary internal and radical democratic reform and led to the perpetuation of this monopolistic individualistic policy, thus bringing about the tragedies we have experienced among ourselves, tragedies that provided fertile grounds for Arab expansion into the Palestinian stronghold. To put Tripoli behind us, we must do what we should have done following the [1982] invasion of Lebanon: direct our main efforts towards the occupied territories with a view to developing our armed struggle on a firm foundation such as the building of the national front inside these territories, the development of the mass, union and political forms of the struggle, the institution of comprehensive democratic reforms to guarantee democratic collective decision-making and the bolstering of PLO influence through our firm commitment to our established policy and our Arab, regional and international alliances. It is clear to the whole world now that massacres of the Palestinian people will lead neither to their annihilation nor to the breaking of their fighting spirit, but rather to a new determination to adhere to their organization and its revolution because it is their salvation. It is these massacres that have increased the Palestinian people's awareness of the fact that without the revolution and the organization, they are orphans in this world of ours, facing growing attempts at annihilation and extermination, be it through political or bloody means. The past 18 years have proven that this people cannot be annihilated and the Middle East problem cannot be solved by skipping over the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO. Therefore, it is time we put our house in order, something we should have done following the invasion of Beirut. The delay led to the tragedies we are now experiencing and we have come up against a wall we cannot penetrate without comprehensive radical reform. This is the reason the joint PFLP-DFLP joint command initiated a democratic reform program. It is no coincidence that unity is put before democratic reform because reform must be

done within the framework of unity between all national forces and the Palestinian revolution.

#### Historical Relations

[Question] We would like to ask whether the announcement of the joint command was the result of a historical development in this direction or the fruit of the dispute with Fatah inasmuch as this announcement appeared to exploit prevailing conditions?

[Answer] Frankly, such a tune is a naive oversimplification of facts and events. Relations between the PFLP and the DFLP came together in January 1979, following the collapse of the well-known Palestinian rejection front, as well as the acknowledgment by all the various resistance detachments of the soundness of the PLO phased program in which the right of self-determination and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state under the PLO banner constituted the central link. In light of such closeness on the political positions, relations began growing slowly and quietly with intervals of high and low points, consistent with political developments. In this context, many joint positions crystallized and came of age after the departure from Beirut. The first significant undeclared step began with the Aden agreement between the PFLP and the DFLP in December 1982, followed by a series of internal documents that prepared all the bases and cadres for bringing this issue to the surface through the announcement of the joint command. Hence, the process took about 4 years and is still in the realm of joint political and military command. It has not yet reached the point of joint organizational command, a goal we hope to achieve later on while searching for future unionist solutions on the democratic grounds of proportional representation. We believe that this step is necessary for Palestinian democratic forces since it represents a great incentive that transcends all Palestinian democratic and leftist forces. This is what reinforces independent Palestinian national decisions and unity within the framework of the PLO. It also explains Arafat's immediate welcome of this step when we promptly cabled his salute and appreciation of this action, calling upon other Palestinian resistance detachments to follow suit because he realized that a step such as this serves the unity of the revolution and the PLO. More importantly, our people responded decisively to the crucial importance of this step, embracing it in a very great way. We are still receiving messages of congratulations from Palestinian groupings worldwide who blessed this step and asked that it be consolidated and developed, especially since the many previous unionist joint experiences that ended in more bitter divisions have left Arab and Palestinian masses frustrated and disheartened. This is why they are so eager to see this process succeed in its broad democratic leftist scope and within its national framework encompassing PLO institutions.

#### Towards Unity for Four Organizations

[Question] Do you think that some Palestinian detachments are getting closer to you through similar steps? And, are you working towards this end?

[Answer] Yes. Facts show that this is actually taking its course. Joint communiqués are being issued by four Palestinian detachments--the DFLP, the PFLP,

the PLF and the Palestinian Communist Party---in dealing with daily political issues on the PLO's agenda. We believe that many democratic personalities and currents in the Palestinian arena are rallying around this process more and more, all of which points to the possibility of driving matters towards uniting all Palestinian leftist forces into one unified organization, a phenomenon we are witnessing in the third world: Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the course of a struggle, many forces of different origins, some from national revolutionary backgrounds which developed in the course of their struggle into democratic revolutionary positions open to scientific socialism and others who began their struggle under the banner of scientific socialism, as was the case in Cuba, Angola, Mozambique and Democratic Yemen, were brought together by a common political and ideological principle. This is still the case in regard to the Salvadoran revolution and Mexico where five parties have united into one socialist party, a situation being reflected more and more in the Palestinian arena today. I believe that the living experience in Democratic Yemen is a tangible example for many national liberation movement detachments that have grown in the directions of scientific socialism from differing backgrounds. For example, the three revolutionary detachments in Democratic Yemen, some of whom embraced scientific socialism in the fifties while others acquired it in the course of their struggle, become united. The Nationalist Front, which started from revolutionary nationalist positions, joined with the Democratic People's Union, which started from a commitment to scientific socialism, and with the al-Tali'ah Party, which had old Ba'thi roots and went on to scientific socialism positions.

#### We Are Committed to National Council Resolutions

[Question] What is your position on the question of resuming the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue and on relations with the Egyptian regime.

[Answer] We in the DFLP, from our basic position in the resistance and among our people, are painstakingly determined to act in conformity with PNC resolutions adopted during the Algiers meeting in February 1983, on the premise that all resistance detachments must honor and enforce these resolutions in which the PNC unanimously determined that relations with the Egyptian regime will depend on the extent to which it is willing to disassociate itself from the Camp David Accords [CDA]. But so long as this regime is committed to these accords, there will be no doors open between it and the PLO and the Palestinian people because the CDA deny the Palestinian people their right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state, and renders the role of the PLO ineffectual. They also confine Palestinian rights to autonomy over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the administration of the forces of occupation, settlement and annexation.

Therefore, so long as the Mubarak regime persists in holding on to Camp David, bridges between it and the PLO shall remain practically and objectively burned. The PLO will not throw itself into the arms of the Mubarak regime and bridges will not be mended if disassociation does not occur.

## Strengthening Relations With Jordan

About relations with Jordan, we in the DFLP have always advocated the normalization of relations with each of the Arab countries, including Jordan for special added reasons. Jordan is the border arena that has common borders with our Israeli enemy extending 640 kilometers. It is our right to stage operations from there against our enemy. Jordan has over 1.5 million Palestinians who in the past have demographically, economically, socially and culturally integrated with the Jordanian people ever since the 1948 debacle. For these and other reasons, we support the normalization of relations with Jordan to facilitate our struggle for better positions. However, it is the Jordanian authorities who declared themselves the enemy of the Palestinian revolution and the PLO, allowing secondary conflicts to get the upper hand over the primary conflict with the forces of occupation that have taken over our land and are threatening east Jordan with occupation and expansion prospects. Nevertheless, we do not deal with our national issues in a spirit of reaction to the September 1970 massacres. This is why we have struggled for the sake of normalizing Palestinian-Jordanian relations based on our national council's resolutions, the Arab summits and the UN resolutions on the Palestinian issue since 1974, within the framework of acknowledging the PLO as the sole representative of our people and their right to repatriation, self-determination, independence and the establishment of a national state, all of which have been signed and acknowledged, starting with the Rabat and Algiers summits and ending with the Fez summit. Normal relations between the two people and the two countries will be strengthened to the same degree as the Jordanian authorities' respect for its signatures on Arab summit resolutions. Our national council has alluded to the possibility of structuring special relations with Jordan following the birth of the independent Palestinian state. However, if the aim of relations with Jordan is to renege on the resolutions issued by the national council, the Arab summits and legitimate international bodies regarding the PLO and our people's independent rights in favor of empowering Jordan [to speak for the Palestinians] instead of the PLO for example, this constitutes a departure from the national council and Arab summit resolutions which will not come to pass. In this domain, we would like to state for the record that pressures brought to bear on the PLO began building up from September 1982, when the Reagan plan was proposed, until the collapse of the Husayn-'Arafat talks in April 1983, when the Palestinian leadership stood up to say no to any kind of departure from the resolutions adopted by the national council in Algiers and by Arab summits; no to attempts to draw the PLO, under Arab pressure, to empower Jordan in accordance with the Reagan plan; and yes to normal relations based on the fact that the PLO is the sole representative of our people and their right to repatriation, self-determination and an independent national state.

[Question] What guarantees do you have against Arab breaches regarding the organization? And, do you have guarantees that prevent new massacres in Palestinian camps?

[Answer] We do not have any guarantees, considering the ruptured disintegrating Arab map, because most Arab countries do not honor their signatures on Arab summit resolutions and approved programs. Rather, they change their positions the same way they change their clothes, as clearly demonstrated during the north

Lebanon crisis when the overwhelming majority of Arab countries adopted stances ranging from silence to collusion at a time when they were calling upon us to [attend] an expanded or limited Arab summit to end this crushing crisis. That is why we say we do not have any guarantees. The only guarantees are those we establish ourselves through the improvement and rectification of our internal conditions, the institution of comprehensive democratic reforms in PLO ranks, the building of a united secure front inside the occupied territories and a firm commitment to collective resolutions issued by our national councils and by special Arab summits regarding our people's rights. This is one thing. The second thing is consolidating our alliances with Lebanese and Jordanian democratic and progressive national forces. The third thing is honoring our international alliances worldwide with all the forces of progress, democracy and peace. This is the fundamental point that enables resolutions issued by our national councils, Arab summits, non-aligned countries, and the UNGA actually to be the basis for a solution to the Middle East crisis, a point that will be as strong as our steadfastness until such time as the convening of an expanded international conference to discuss the Middle East crisis becomes inevitable as an alternative to throwing the fate of the Middle Eastern peoples and countries to the U.S. imperialist wolf.

[Question] How do you envision the possibility of things returning to normal between the PLO and Syria?

[Answer] We in the revolution firmly believe in the need to restore relations between the PLO and Syria on a sound democratic foundation in our common struggle against the Israeli enemy and its forces of occupation and unlimited ambitions to seize our people's rights. After the Palestinian territories, the Syrian Golan Heights, southern Lebanon and the Sinai were occupied, we do not know how much further these operations will go. Herein lies the importance of stabilizing these relations on the basis of this common struggle against pro-Zionist U.S. aggression, for the sake of repatriation, self-determination and an independent state as well as the PLO's right to be the sole representative of this people and to make independent Palestinian decisions away from any excesses and based on full equality among us while preserving every group's right to make its own independent national decisions and our common right to adopt joint resolutions that call for a consolidated action and struggle. We reject any form of subordination and oppose any attempts at subservience. This process calls for a concerted effort by Palestinian, Arab and international friendly benevolent forces to help mend the bridges and restore democratic relations. We in the DFLP offer all our efforts, all our weight and all our initiative in this direction. Our enemy is formidable and bristling with arms from head to toe, backed by huge international imperialistic forces, U.S. imperialism in particular. All this obligates us to mend the bridges and restore relations between the forward front forces, the PLO and Syria and the Lebanese democratic and national forces, surrounded by Arab solidarity forces struggling for the sake of Palestine. All Arab peoples and countries know that their central issue is the question of Palestine and on this basis Arab solidarity is woven and Arab summit resolutions are adopted. This is what we hope for and toward which we are working.

12502

CSO: 4404/304

## DIRECTOR OF LEGACIES REVIEWS DEPARTMENT'S ACTIVITIES

Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 5 Dec 83 p 3

[Excerpts] The presidency of the Shari-ah courts and religious affairs in Qatar is one of the important government departments entrusted with various matters. The presidency of the courts includes among its various sectors the activities of several departments, and one of its important departments is the department of legacies and affairs of minors, which is concerned with the administration of legacies and the safeguarding of the rights of orphans and minors until they attain their majority and are able to take care of their own inheritances, whether real estate or movable property. The department invests these properties and develops them for the benefit of their owners, and that with virtually no deduction for services, because the workers get their salaries from the state, this department being considered a sector of the public services.

Because of AL-RAYAH's desire to shed light upon this department whose activities are known to but a few, we interviewed Mr Badr Khalifah al-Sadah, director of the department of legacies and the affairs of minors. The conversation went as follows:

Statistics of the Department's Activities for the Month of Muharram, 1404 A.H.

We asked him whether the department's activities were concluded at the end of the year or at the end of every month.

[Answer] The department complies on a monthly basis its statistics on the services it carries out. These are the most notable of the important and prominent activities which the department carried out in its various divisions during the month of Muharram 1404 A.H.

1. The total income of the department was 4,856,342,69 riyals. [All figures as published]

The income of the fund in cash and checks was 4,774,623,69 riyals.

To the legacies 4,331,722,99.

To the orphans and minors 4,429,000,70.

By way of revenue bonds which numbered 132 bonds.

By way of the banks, bonds of obligation numbering 8 with a value of 81,719 riyals.

2. The total amount going out to the department for the benefit of the heirs, orphans and minors was 9,837,504,49.

a. Expenditures in cash or checks was in the amount of 983,364,616 riyals.

b. Expenditures by way of conversion through banks outside of the state of Qatar was 385,833 riyals.

3. The number of checks issued by the department was 195.

4. The number of convertible bonds issued by the department was 209.

5. The department deals with five banks, which are: The Islamic Bank of Qatar, the National Bank of Qatar, the Bank of Doha, the Qatar Commercial Bank, and the Arab Bank.

6. The number of legacies for which files were opened were 29, including 4 legacies which the legacies committee in the department took over, evaluated, determined their components and sold some of those components according to the requests of the heirs.

a. The committee received in cash 137,507 Qatar riyals and 1,130 Saudi riyals.

Some 215,500 Bahraini dinars went into the department's fund.

b. Included among their components are 11 pieces of real estate, 2 homes, 2 cars and 5 taxis.

7. The department rented out 3 real estate properties for the benefit of the legacies.

The department repaired and restored two properties.

The cost of repair and maintenance was 2,879 riyals.

8. The income from renting these properties collected for the benefit of the legacies, orphans and minors was 372,853 riyals.

9. The number of taxis rented out for the benefit of the legacies, orphans and minors was 15 and the income from them was 36,600 riyals.

10. The value of debts collected for heirs, orphans, and minors was 39,590.84 riyals.

The debts paid out on behalf of heirs, orphans and minors was 166,714 riyals.



11. The number of legacies whose distribution was completed was 11.

12. The number of legacies which were finally settled was 38, including one to a minor because he had attained his majority. The number of companies was five.

The number of banks was three.

The department also buys shares for the orphans and minors, seeks good additional shares, and receives new stock certificates as well.

14. The number of real estate pieces sold through the department's board of real estate sales was two, for the amount of 250,000 riyals and 110,000 riyals for the second property.

12547

CSO: 4404/293

## BRIEFS

AFGHAN CLANDESTINE REPORTS ON OPERATIONS--Heavy fighting is underway between the Muslim revolutionaries and the forces of the Karmal regime and the Soviet Union in the Panjshir Valley. The soldiers of the Karmal regime and the occupying red forces, using fighter aircraft and heavy artillery, pounded various points in this region. The North Panjshir Valley is considered to be one of the most strategic points in our Islamic homeland. The occupying Soviet forces and the forces of the puppet Karmal regime have carried out several operations to occupy this valley. During these operations they have suffered heavy losses in men and material and have been forced to withdraw. [Text] [GF241226 (Clandestine) Voice of Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan in Dari 1700 GMT 23 Feb 84]

RADIO REPORTS ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS--The joint personnel of the Soviet occupation forces and the puppet regime of Karmal attacked several villages around Jalalabad in Nangarhar Province last Monday in retaliation for their recent defeats in the hands of the Muslim Afghan revolutionaries. The joint forces martyred, arrested, or wounded dozens of our Muslim brothers and sisters among whom children and old men could be seen. The Red occupation forces and the forces of Karmal's regime in an attack against (Nasruh) Village located 15 kilometers west of Jalalabad executed 15 young Muslims of the village and arrested 27 of the children, women, and old men of the village. These forces also attacked a number of other villages in the area and martyred around 10 other Muslims. Our Muslim revolutionaries who had gathered in an eastern region of our Islamic land to pay tribute to the martyrs of Jalalabad region, pledged that they will retaliate against the criminal action of the Soviet occupational forces and the regime of Karmal. [Text] [GF191752 (Clandestine) Voice of Afghan Revolution in Dari 1721 GMT 19 Feb 84]

CSO: 4665/30

## U.S. 'ANTIPATHY' TOWARD INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES QUESTIONED

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Jan 84 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE INTERNATIONAL FUND for Agricultural Development (IFAD) set up in 1978 has a membership of 135 countries which fall under three categories having equal voting strength. The OECD countries are in Category I, the OPEC nations in Category II and the other less developed countries constitute the last category. The aim of IFAD is "to improve food output and the nutritional levels of the poorest people". Its main emphasis is on involving the rural poor in the LDCs in the process of their own betterment. In the first three years of its existence, the IFAD had targeted to spend \$1.05 billions with the OECD contributing \$595 millions, the OPEC \$435 millions and the LDCs \$20 millions. For the succeeding three years, an investment of \$1.35 billions was planned, of which a work programme of \$450 millions was initially agreed to. In the first four years, 90 projects in 48 countries were identified for IFAD assistance. At the UNCTAD-VI meeting at Belgrade in June 1983, Mr. A. M. Al-Sudeary, the IFAD president, expressed his disappointment over the Fund not getting its first replenishment in full and regretted the reduction and delay in the U.S. contribution.

The IFAD is the youngest and the smallest among the specialised agencies of the United Nations. It is intended to operate only where no other aid giver is making an impact and its role is focussed on raising the living and nutritional levels of the poorest of people in the least developed regions of the world. It is not expected to have a large staff, because an IFAD funded project is implemented by field officers of another agency such as the World Bank, with the latter charging IFAD for its labours. This system has undergone a change in the wake of the IFAD's complaint that the field staff of other agencies have not been interpreting or carrying out its instructions correctly. This has altered the role of the IFAD as a body undertaking the co-

financing of projects with other U.N. agencies into one taking over the entire responsibility on itself. More than 50 per cent of such projects were implemented in this manner and the strength of the IFAD grew in consequence. The United States has been complaining that the IFAD has too much of a staff and that its role, as it has evolved over the last four years, reflected a large amount of duplication of the activities undertaken by other agencies.

The U.S. objections surfaced even at the fifth session of the IFAD in 1982 when the American contribution dropped from \$220 millions to 180 millions. The total staff at that time was 70, and when the U.S. asked for a staff cut by 20 per cent, critics did notice the fact that the U.S. delegation to the IFAD meet was 10 per cent of IFAD staff! The U.S. has always been saying that it will oppose future replenishments till the staff issue and the alleged duplication in IFAD activities are resolved to its satisfaction. The latest accusation against the IFAD is on the same lines with this difference that while the U.S. Treasury wants a correction of the duplication as a condition for providing the U.S. contribution to IFAD, the Agriculture Department seems to be in favour of continuing the U.S. association with the Fund. The rub appears to lie elsewhere. Of the 1,800 votes in the Governing Council and the Executive Board of the IFAD, two thirds are with the OPEC and other less developed countries. If Washington persists in its stance against the IFAD it will only confirm the reading that it has developed a general antipathy to international agencies, particularly those in which the LDCs have a voice. The U.S. has also to remember that the IFAD, as organised at present, does not require heavy funding. But by withdrawing its support, the U.S. would stand to lose the goodwill of the LDCs. Such graceless proposals to withdraw go against the very spirit of multilateralism and international cooperation and represent a slide back to the obnoxious practice of using aid to achieve foreign policy objectives.

CSO: 4600/1525

## CPI-M REACTS TO OPPOSITION PARTY CONFERENCE

### Namboodiripad Press Conference

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Jan 84 p 7

[Text] Communist Party of India (Marxist) General Secretary E M S Namboodiripad said on Thursday that there were indications of a Left and democratic unity developing in the wake of the Calcutta conference of Opposition parties.

He did not elaborate, but he told a press conference in the Capital that he agreed with CPI General Secretary C Rajeswara Rao's view on the subject. Mr Rao had said that such a unity was in the offing.

Mr Namboodiripad told a questioner that forging electoral unity was not the sole purpose of the Opposition conferences. They were intended to highlight the Government's failures on the economic and political fronts. But he felt that the process started at the Vijaya wada Opposition meet would ultimately facilitate electoral unity.

Asked if poll understanding between the Left parties and the BJP was possible, he said such issues will be discussed at the time of elections.

He denied that they had kept the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Lok Dal out of the Calcutta conclave. In fact, the two parties had themselves opted out of this exercise at Srinagar earlier expressing disagreement on various issues, he said.

When his attention was drawn to Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N T Rama Rao's statement suggesting the presence of the NDA allies at the next conclave, he remarked: 'If Mr Rama Rao raises the issue we will certainly discuss. But press is not the forum for such a discussion'.

Referring to the controversial appointment of Calcutta University Vice-Chancellor against the wishes of the West Bengal Government he said it was in 'keeping with the political character of the Governor'.

The CPI-M leader said that 'a most notorious Congressman has been appointed as Governor there without consulting the State Government'.

Meanwhile, the Politburo of the CPI-M, in a statement denounced the destabilisation campaign organised by the Congress-I against non Congress-I ruled State Governments in Karnataka, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal.

#### More on Politburo Statement

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 20 Jan 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Jan. 19--The CPI(M) Politburo today denounced the campaign of destabilization organized by the Congress (I) against non-Congress (I)-ruled State Governments, "those of Karnataka, Jammu and Kashmir, and West Bengal in particular".

In a statement, the Politburo said the joint announcement by the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers at the Calcutta rally on January 14 had "made it clear that any attack on one of the non-Congress(I) State Governments would be unitedly resisted by the entire Opposition".

Were any concrete steps planned? The CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, who released the Politburo statement at a Press conference here, said that "concrete steps would emerge out of concrete situations".

He said that although the venue for the next conference of non-Congress(I) Chief Ministers had been settled--it would be Madras--on date had yet been decided upon.

He mentioned that these conferences were not for the purpose of forging electoral unity. Nor were they a means of fighting the present Government. They were meant primarily to project a set of policies which the participants felt were in the national interest and which naturally were opposed to the policies of the Government.

He said, in reply to a question, that it was possible that the views expressed at these meetings would help consolidate the Opposition position on various issues when elections were announced.

Mr Namboodiripad also advised against confusing electoral understanding with Opposition unity. Any electoral understanding would be reached only on the eve of the elections, not earlier, he said.

The Politburo congratulated the Hegde Government for successfully facing the "powerful onslaught of the unscrupulous Opposition".

It noted that in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Congress (I) had for several weeks been engaged in organizing a campaign of violence and terror against the elected Government. "This unscrupulous campaign was publicly commended to the people by the Congress(I) leaders at their Calcutta plenary session.

The Politburo said that the plenary session of the Congress(I) was used also to mount a vicious attack on the Left Front Government of West Bengal. "A

Cabinet Minister at the Centre went to the extent of repeating his earlier threat to throw the Left Front Government into the Bay of Bengal".

The Politburo added that, emboldened by that call "from above and desperate at the "growing popular support" for the Left Front, the Congress(I) in the State had resorted to "hooliganism".

"The hooligan attacks launched in Calcutta and Delhi on the Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister and the violence unleashed in West Bengal show that the growing unity of the democratic Opposition has made the leaders of the ruling party desperate and unscrupulous in using any method against the democratically-elected State Governments headed by Opposition parties".

CSO: 4600/1512

## CONGRESS-I LEADERS URGE INTERVENTION IN KASHMIR

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Jan 84 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 23.

Five Congress (I) leaders, including two members of the Union Council of Ministers, today submitted a memorandum to the President, Mr. Zail Singh, urging his intervention in Jammu and Kashmir. They considered the action necessary because of what they called the explosive situation created by the alliance between the State Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, and anti-national and secessionist elements.

The signatories to the memorandum were Mr. Arif Mohammed Khan, Union Minister of State for Agriculture, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad, Deputy Law Minister, Mr. Ghulam Rasool Kar, Mir Ghulam Mohammed Rajpuri and Mr. G. L. Dogra, former State Ministers.

According to them, patriotic sections which opposed the anti-people policies of the State Government were being systematically assaulted. They felt that the way the "situation was developing will result in the loss of Jammu and Kashmir and loss of life and property of the people of the State." The situation had been brought to the notice of the State Governor several times in the past six months with a request for action but it was regrettable, they said, that no attempt was made to remedy the situation.

**Seditious ways:** The 18-page memorandum cited several incidents to support their charge that the Chief Minister had given respectability to those who questioned the finality of the State's accession to India and demanded the right of self-determination. The Chief Minister, they alleged, was reported as having told the people that they could approach either him or the Awami Action Committee Chairman, Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq (who recently parried questions on his nationality) for redress of grievances. For a person who refused to call himself an Indian to play a decisive role in a sensitive State was highly disturbing, they said.

This combination had widened its base by having an understanding with the Jamat-E-Islami, Jamat-E-Tulba and the People's League. These organisations, they alleged, had deputed trained volunteers to rural areas for an anti-India propaganda. They cited the case of Sopore town where, they said, the Jamat, through posters, asked all Hindus to leave the State in 15 days or face extermination and where on Aug. 14 last year the Indian flag was pulled down and the Pakistani flag hoisted and saluted. The memorandum also referred to the camps held by the All-India Sikh Students Federation in the State, as also the incidents on the last day of the last camp when the Sikh volunteers who met the Chief Minister raised anti-India slogans.

**Support from Chief Minister:** Painting a grim picture of the situation in the State, they said anti-Indian elements had intensified their activities because of the support received from the Chief Minister. Dr. Abdullah was quoted as having told his audience once that he would get aid from Arab countries if the Union Government did not provide funds to the State. A pro-National Conference newspaper, *Niwai-E-Subah*, once headlined a report of the Chief Minister's speech thus: "I will rest only when I have put Jammu and Kashmir on the international map."

The memorialists, who gave the details to correspondents, were asked to read out what the Chief Minister had said. It turned out that he had expressed his determination to put the State on the international map of tourism. They were not concerned, they explained, with Dr. Abdullah's speech but the sly manner in which a paper supporting the ruling party sought to project his remarks. Citing another case, they said that those arrested in connection with the cricket match incident received VVIP treatment in jail.



## OPPOSITION WARNS CONGRESS-I ON KASHMIR MOVES

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26 Jan 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Jan. 25--Reacting strongly to the situation in Kashmir, all the parties of the Opposition today warned the Congress (I) leadership at the national level to "put a halt" forthwith to the campaign supporting violent agitations in the State, and said that "if any State Government is improperly brought down", they would raise "a storm which Mrs Gandhi's Government will not be able to weather".

In a joint move, nine M.P.s representing all the Opposition parties, asked the State unit of the Congress (I) "to wind up the uncalled for agitation and function as a democratic Opposition in the State". Any action to precipitate the present crisis would bring national interest into jeopardy for which the Congress (I) leadership at the national level would be squarely responsible, the M.P.s stated.

The statement containing the warning was signed by Mr Ram Vilas Paswan, general secretary of the Janata Party, Chaudhry Brahm Prakash, a former Union Minister Mr R. P. Yadav (Congress-S), Professor Saifuddin Soz (National Conference), Mr Vijay Kumar Yadav (CPI), Mr Harikesh Baha dur (DSP), Mr G. M. Banatwala (Muslim League), Mr Satish Agar wal (BJP), Mr A. U. Azami (Lok Dal) and Mr E. Balanandan (CPI-M).

They said the Opposition parties had expected the Congress (I) to take notice of the national consensus which suggested that Mr Farooq Abdullah be allowed to continue in office undisturbed for the full term.

The violent agitations by Congress (I) workers in the State, buttressed by fallacious statements of Congress (I) leaders at the Centre and in the State, in which they blamed the "so-called anti-national elements", disrupted life in the State, the statement said.

It added that the memorandum presented to the President of India on January 23 by Congress (I) workers led by two Union Ministers, suggesting Central intervention in Jammu and Kashmir, was "highly unwarranted, provocative and condemnable, as it runs counter to the will of the people of the State and, therefore, contrary to national interest". The memorandum was a direct affront to the people of the State who have held the banner of secularism aloft all along, it was stated.

The statement pointed out that "at a time when everyone should be interested in working for national unity and strengthening secular forces, Congress (I) leaders are bent upon creating a situation in Jammu and Kashmir State in which anti-national activities can thrive rather than be curbed".

The Bharatiya Janata Party issued a statement saying the party was "distressed at the Congress (I) manipulations to topple non-Congress (I) Governments all over the country". "The latest gimmick is the memorandum presented by some Congress (I) Ministers and members of Parliament to the President of India requesting him to dismiss the Farooq Ministry in Jammu and Kashmir".

On behalf of the party, its vice-president, Mr Ram Jethmalani, M.P., Said that while the BJP stood for a strong Center, "it is gimmicks like these that strengthen the demand for greater State autonomy and a correspondingly weak Centre".

"The BJP unequivocally and strongly condemns this latest attempt to subvert India's Constitution and the democratic will. It regrets that it has to remind the country and these pathetic gentlemen (who prepared and presented the memorandum) that the President is only a constitutional head and he cannot go about dismissing State Ministries merely because some Congressmen want it to be done. Even the Central Government cannot advise such action without making a mockery of Article 356 of the Constitution.

"A State Government can only be superseded if the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the Constitution. The signatories to the memorandum should first educate themselves by reading the Article, the relevant debates in the constituent Assembly and judicial interpretation of Article. No State Ministry can be dismissed merely because the Prime Minister, in her wisdom, thinks that the Government is not being carried on in the manner in which she wants it to be carried on," the statement said.

CSO: 4600/1527

INDIA

## RESULTS OF ENERGY MINISTER'S VISIT TO WEST EUROPE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Jan 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, January 19--INDIA has shown interest in French and Norwegian proposals for assistance in its exploration and production programme and these have already been discussed by the energy minister, Mr. Shiv Shankar, during his visit to these countries.

The minister who also went to Sweden and Austria, told newsmen today that the proposals would be discussed by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission meeting here from January 27. The commission's proposal to restructure itself will be examined at this meeting convened by him.

A French team of experts is already here to discuss collaboration in the fields of solar and wind energy. It will discuss food shortages, sewage processing and energy conservation also.

The French company, CFP, has an assistance agreement with ONGC for the development of the Bombay High. This agreement is to expire after April, 1985 and the company is keen on extension of this agreement as well as on enlargement of its scope.

The minister visited training institutes of leading drilling companies of France. He was assured all help for training Indian personnel. The two sides discussed collaboration in the field of research and development.

Mr. Shiv Shankar held talks with the French minister for industry and research, Mr. Laungent Fabius.

As for Norway, the minister said it had been agreed to in principle that Norway would train Indian personnel in off-shore operations and provide assistance for the Institute of Engineering and Ocean Technology being set up by ONGC.

The minister conveyed to his counterpart that India would welcome joint ventures with Norwegian undertakings for off-shore oil development and training of Indian specialists for acquiring special skills in deep-sea drilling and production techniques.

The minister said because of similarity between Norwegian off-shore structures and the off-shore Godavari structure, he was keen on collaboration in this regard.

Mr. Shiva Shankar said Norway was a leading supplier of off-shore oil-processing platforms and the industry had shown interest in collaboration with India.

In Sweden, the minister discussed proposals for collaboration in power sector, especially in the area of high voltage DC transmission technology in which Swedish performance was impressive. This technology is proposed to be introduced in India.

The Indo-Swedish joint commission is meeting here next month and it was suggested to the minister that it should have a sub-commission on energy.

The minister visited a high-voltage DC transmission project in Austria. This technology is being developed by an Austrian company in collaboration with West German and Swiss units.

The minister had discussions with senior executives of Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in Vienna, especially, on a proposal for collaboration in the field of data collection and processing.

CSO: 4600/1511

## CENTER REPORTEDLY CONCERNED OVER TURMOIL IN STATES

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Jan 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 19.

There is considerable concern at the Centre over the political turmoils and social unrest in several States which, it is feared, might acquire a sharper edge with the approaching parliamentary elections.

The ruling Congress (I) which stands to lose more than the opposition from the contrived strife is suffering from a strange split personality that encourages the top leadership to openly acquiesce in the militancy of its cohorts but privately dread the consequences of the provocations.

There is no evidence to substantiate the accusation that the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi has herself given the green signal to the hotheads of the Congress (I) to go on the rampage in Kashmir Valley or resort to open violence in Calcutta to teach Dr. Farooq Abdullah a lesson. But she certainly perplexes even her supporters by refusing to intervene in good time to stop the Congress (I) militants from indulging in violent demonstrations.

**Big surprise**

A worse example of the Congress (I)'s toppling bid in Karnataka has been the open encouragement the local leaders have been receiving from Delhi. The adroit manner in which the Chief Minister, Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde, has frustrated these attempts has come as a big surprise to the high command in Delhi because it has unwittingly allowed itself to be misled that they had already mustered enough strength to topple the Janata Government.

But the forces of disorder that have been let loose in Kashmir and Karnataka not to speak of Calcutta and Delhi, have clearly unnerved the Congress (I) leaders, since this is a game that two can play and the opposition parties that have little to lose might try to stir up more trouble to embarrass the Government. There are influential elements in the Congress (I) who are itching for a fight to avenge the humiliation the party has suffered in the two States, but the more prudent ones have started exerting their

influence in the inner circles to call a halt to these attempts to dislodge the two non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers who have evoked the party's wrath and earned Delhi's displeasure.

At the governmental level, however, there is happily greater caution in dealing with the political turbulence in many States. There is no desire at all to create a crisis in Kashmir at a time when the Punjab situation is still tense with a threat of renewed agitation. Similarly, the ferocity of the street violence in Calcutta has shown that this volatile city could be held to ransom by anti-social elements in the wake of a Centre-State confrontation.

But the constitutional implications, apart from political consequences, of any Central intervention in Kashmir are being examined carefully as part of contingency planning than as preparation for impending action. If the Government has to contend with the possibility of the Kashmir and Punjab situations together posing a serious law and order problem in the North, a spillover of any showdown with the CPI (M) in West Bengal could create an even graver situation in the North-East region.

The surface tranquillity in the Hindi heartland is no guarantee that States like U.P. and Bihar will not be faced with their share of unrest with the approaching elections. The position in Madhya Pradesh where the BJP and others have considerable influence is no less disquieting from the Congress (I)'s point of view, since any little upset in each one of these States could have a multiplier effect, at a time when Mrs. Gandhi has yet to regain her lost influence in some of the southern States.

**Disquieting feature**

The Prime Minister is not unaware of the grave dangers of letting her party engage in agitations in non-Congress (I)-ruled States. But she is apparently caught up in the coils of the conflicting advice she is receiving from some of her own confidants, with one section pressing for Central intervention to display her firmness and another cautioning her against any

precipitate action.

A disquieting feature of this developing confrontation with the opposition is that, though she is firmly in command of both her party and the Government, Mrs. Gandhi is no longer displaying her characteristic decisiveness in handling these situations. Though she has the authority to call off these Congress (I) agitations and toppling games, she has for her own reasons chosen to let the situation drift perumbaly to wait and see whether her party has much to gain by letting the confrontation reach a point at which the Centre could intervene with some justification.

The sad part of it all is that nobody here seems to know what exactly she intends to do, whether she wants the Congress (I) agitation to taper off and the toppling game in Karnataka to fade out for the present, or she has made up her mind to somehow bring the two States under her control before the elections. And in either case she cannot afford to make the two Chief Ministers become political martyrs in the eyes of their people.

CSO: 4600/1513

## GANDHI HOLDS SIGNIFICANT TALKS WITH DENG AIDE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Jan 84 p 9

[Article by Subhash Chakravarti]

[Text] NEW DELHI, January 20--CONSIDERABLE importance is being attached to the quiet but extensive talks held yesterday between the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and a close aide to China's present paramount leader, Mr. Deng Xiaoping.

Mr. Ma Hong, who is now on a visit here at the invitation of the government, is known to be a member with considerable weight of Mr. Deng's 'think tank.' He is also a member of the "politburo" of the Chinese Communist Party.

Mr. Ma's mission, ostensibly to establish close contact between scientific and social science institutes in the two countries, is believed to be an important political exercise to strengthen the process of improving better bilateral relations.

Mr. Ma's meeting with Mrs. Gandhi is invested in official circles with significance because he made it a point to convey to the Prime Minister, Mr. Deng Xiaoping's appreciation of the endeavour to give an objective thrust to the non-aligned movement as well as to strengthen the co-operation among the developing countries in the south.

Mr. G. Parthasarathi, the principal foreign policy adviser to the Prime Minister, and Mr. K. Natwar Singh, who has considerable background on China, having served in Beijing at the height of "India-China friendship" days in the fifties, participated in the talks. Mr. Parthasarathi visited China in 1982 and was received by Mr. Deng Xiaoping. Mr. Parthasarathi's visit to Beijing was as quiet as Mr. Ma's current visit here.

China is known to be keen on India's external affairs minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, paying an early visit to Beijing. The former Chinese foreign minister, Mr. Huang Hua, visited India two years ago. The next round of official-level talks are due to be held in Beijing sometime this year.

Mr. Natwar Singh, who as a senior secretary is now in charge of East Asia in the ministry of external affairs, will lead the Indian delegation. Both India

and China have now recognised the border dispute as the central issue in the bilateral relations.

Judging by the outcome of today's talks, both sides seem to be keen on imparting greater realism to the relationship by developing and widening exchanges in trade, science and technology, agriculture and scientific education and training. There were frank exchanges on respective achievement and mutual problems.

Mr. Ma was very impressed by India's achievement in attaining modernisation in agriculture, science and technology without disturbing its traditional institutions and historical monuments and relics.

The Chinese leader showed special interest in the prospects of India producing this year 140 million tonnes of foodgrains. He assured Mrs Gandhi that China was not only impressed by this achievement but would also be very keen on knowing in detail how India attained this encouraging feat.

Mrs. Gandhi reciprocated the compliment by saying that India had watched with great interest various economic and modernisation programmes introduced in recent years in China. India, she said, would be only too happy to exchange views on respective experience.

CSO: 4600/1515



## CENTER REPORTED WORRIED OVER AGITATION THREATS

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Jan 84 p.1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 23.

The Centre is worried over threats of agitations of one kind or the other by a wide assortment of political parties, pressure groups, trade unions and student organisations in different parts of the country which could easily lead to violence.

First of all the Government has to cope with the hazards of a renewed Akali agitation in Punjab from January 26 coinciding with the Republic Day celebrations, requiring the tightest possible security arrangements for the parade in Delhi which is witnessed by nearly a million people.

Apart from mobilising all the intelligence agencies at the Centre, CID contingents from all adjoining States like Punjab, Haryana, U.P., and Rajasthan are being brought to Delhi to assist the local police.

Then there is the threat of an agitation by the National Democratic Alliance next month, followed by a bigger movement by other Opposition parties in March, as decided upon by them at the Calcutta conclave to focus attention on the alleged failures of the Congress (I) Government.

The Opposition parties that have held out these threats include the BJP, Lok Dal, CPI, CPI(M), Janata, Congress (S) and many leftist organisations.

Trade unions' resolve: Meanwhile, the major trade unions representing all the labour movements have decided to agitate to seek a ban on lock-outs and retrenchment, although no dates have been set for the proposed strikes.

A section of Central Government employees also have started demanding that the present practice of transfers should be modified to ensure that the employees concerned are consulted and due consideration given to their personal difficulties before moving them to other places.

The Congress (I)-sponsored agitation in Jammu and Kashmir is continuing, although there have been no more violent incidents. In West Bengal, too, the militant wing of the Congress (I) that recently went on a rampage is itching for a fight, waiting for an opportune moment to take to the streets again.

The toppling operations of the Congress (I) in Karnataka created the climate of uncertainty in the State that led to last week's Bangalore bandh called by the Kannada matinee idol, Raj Kumar, leaving behind a trail of bitterness that could flare up into a bigger agitation over the language question.

Fresh assessment of Assam situation: The situation in Assam continues to be relatively quiet, despite the prevailing tension there. But it might erupt into another upheaval if the students decide to create more trouble. The Prime Minister's visit to the State early next month will enable the Assam Government to make a fresh assessment of the public mood there, whether the people are really fed up with the agitation and would not support any attempts to revive it in the near future.

The Centre is no less concerned about the farmers' agitations in Maharashtra, the growing public unrest in Madhya Pradesh over rampant corruption, the total demoralisation of the administrative machinery in Bihar, the political paralysis in U.P. and the continued Congress (I) infighting in other States like Orissa, Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Agitational approach: The political parties, whether it is the Congress (I) or those in Opposition have not adjusted themselves to the post-independence atmosphere, since almost all of them, whether rightist or leftist, are still conditioned emotionally by the agitational approach of the freedom struggle.

The psychology of satyagraha that constrained the older generation of Congressmen to confine their defiance of

foreign rule to passive resistance has now yielded place to violent movements rendering the country increasingly ungovernable in the new atmosphere of freedom.

The popular protest against misuse of power or non-fulfilment of electoral promises is no longer limited to courting arrest or resorting to fast to mobilise public opinion. It takes the form of bandhs and gheraos, violent agitations and open defiance of authority, often leading to destruction of property and loss of life.

Old habit remains: Though the context has changed for public agitations, the old habit remains of resorting to direct action at the slightest provocation. Any attempt to intensify even a peaceful protest invariably takes the form of violent protest these days, in the absence of a code of conduct based on self-restraint that is equally acceptable to those in power and in Opposition.

The insensitivity of Government to legitimate criticism and its refusal to respond to peaceful protests against some of its actions have contributed to the prevailing climate of violence as much as the frustrations of the Opposition which wants to get back to power at any cost even if it meant doing irreparable damage to the country's democratic system.

These are some of the philosophical aspects of the current political turbulence in the country that are worrying the Centre as much as the determined attempts of the Opposition to step up the tempo of agitations with the approach of the elections.

But as a ruling party the Congress (I) cannot afford to indulge in double standards by preaching to the Opposition to observe restraint in some States, what it is not ready to practise in other States.

CSO: 4600/1526

## STUDY SHOWS 20-POINT PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION SLACK

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, Jan. 25--The latest Planning Commission study on the Prime Minister's so-called revised 20-point programme to improve the condition of the poor makes it clear that its implementation has been extremely slack. In effect, it is being virtually ignored despite the pressure on the authorities to give it priority.

The all India performance report is for November 1983 and is not being given publicity for obvious reasons since it shows that the targets set for all except two of the 20 points have fallen woefully short, some by more than 80%.

The most glaringly shoddy performance is in the case of bonded labour, where the target set for the release of 28.8 million between April and November 1983, has been achieved to the extent of only 26.9% (or 7.75 million) bonded labourers

But the poorest implementation is on the point for providing houses for the economically weak section. The target was set for building a nominal 400,500 houses in April-November 1983, all over the country. But the actual achievement has been only 55,000 or a meagre 13.6%.

A similar story is told of the assistance given for construction of houses for the poor. Against the target of aid for 556,000 houses only 161,000 or 29% were actually helped, even though 637,000 of the targetted 874,000 houses sites (or 71.7%) were provided.

The number of villages electrified is only a shade better. While the nominal target was to electrify only 23,631 villages in period, those benefiting totalled just 6,491--only 27.5% of the target.

Sterilizations, still the backbone of the family planning programme, also remained behind with only 1.95 million being carried out of the target of 5.81 million, or 33.6%.

Points in which less than 50% of the targets have been achieved include the key integrated rural development programme, the national rural employment programme, the distribution of surplus land, assistance to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe families, assistance to slum population and provision of energy to pumpsets.

Two points in which targets have been achieved just over 50% are provision of drinking water to villages and building of health sub-centres

The solitary point in which the target achievement has been more than 100% is tree plantation; of the 2.25 billion these meant for plantation 2.26 billion were actually planted.

CSO: 4600/1527

INDIA

#### INDIA-UK JOINT GROUP ON COAL MINING MEETS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 20 Jan 84 p 4

[Text] NEW DELHI, Jan. 19--India and the U.K. yesterday agreed at the eighth meeting of the joint steering group on coal here to collaborate in setting up two large modern mines at Bharatchak and Radhamadhabpur, each with a capacity of more than one million tons of coal a year.

The two collieries will be part of the Eastern Coalfields--a subsidiary of Coal India, operating in West Bengal.

The arrangement is important because of the difficult and complicated mining condition in these two collieries and the superior quality of non-coking coal which can be tapped from the available seams in them.

The two-day meeting of the joint steering group ended here on Tuesday. The Indian delegation was led by Mr S. B. Lal, Secretary, Department of Coal, while the British side was led by Mr C. B. Benjamin, Under Secretary, Department of Trade and Industry of the U.K. Government.

India and the U.K. also agreed that they would associate further in the second phase of the Amlori project in the Singarauli coalfields where the two sides are already collaborating in the joint opencast mine which can yield four million tons of coal a year. Britain is providing financial aid for the project. The second phase of the project would increase the capacity of the mine to 10 million tons a year.

The two sides reviewed the existing arrangements for collaboration in the coal sector, particularly the working of some major coal mining equipment from the U.K. The group also discussed with U.K. manufacturers the question of maximizing coal production from mines using longwall mining equipment from the U.K.

The British side, which is already associated with the modernization of the coal industry, also agreed to extend help in dealing with environmental problems at the Jharia coalfield and the Amlori project.

The two sides also agreed to continue their collaboration in the area of personnel training.

TEHRAN DAILY WARNS U.S. AGAINST NEW 'ADVENTURES' IN GULF

LD251402 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1200 GMT 25 Feb 84

[Text] Iraq Crisis Room in Washington. This is the title of a JOMHURIY-YE ESLAMI editorial article which continues: With the escalation of recent operations, which are intended to bring to conclusion the fate of the 41-month Iraqi-imposed war against the Islamic revolution, the Baghdad regime is attempting to internationalize the war in order to find a way out for itself.

Although after 41 months of bellowing and contradictions by the Baghdad regime, there are not many people who would take the meek requests of the Ba'thist officials seriously. Nevertheless, one hears here and there that in order to instigate some sort of adventure in the Persian Gulf and to provide more practical aid to the Baghdad regime, Washington is being tempted. The first possibility is that by opening a new front in the Persian Gulf, coupled with propaganda, Washington wishes to divert the attention of Islamic combatants to a secondary front, so that Baghdad can ease itself out of the crushing blows dealt to it by the Islamic army.

The setting up of an Iraq crisis room in Washington as well as keeping up with the latest events is aimed at enabling Washington to assess the chances of success of the new adventurism. American politicians do not wish to face another defeat in the Persian Gulf after the disgraceful flight of U.S. Marines from Beirut, for they realize that the consequences and repercussions of any involvement in the Persian Gulf will not be simply confined in Washington's politico-military defeat; rather, they will pose a question mark before the political situation and even the survival of some governments in the Persian Gulf.

In other words, Washington's adventurism will lead the region's existing politico-military balance to a point of no return, the outcome of which must, undoubtedly, result in the destruction of U.S. interests throughout the entire region. The Islamic Republic of Iran will never, in such circumstances, initiate things. However, it has learned suitable methods of confronting these developments; it knows how to capitalize on its enemies' mistakes in favor of changing conditions and strengthening a more assured situation.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, considering its interests in the Persian Gulf, particularly keeping open the Straits of Hormus, protects the security of navigation through this vital pass. However, if at any time Washington or its allies, including the Baghdad regime, tries to threaten the security of interests or the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Persian Gulf, they would do better to think of the consequences first. This is precisely the factor which was not taken into account by the Baghdad regime when it started the war. [Remainder of item indistinct]

IRP ORGAN REVIEWS U.S. CONCERN FOR IRAQ

GF051520 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 25 Feb 84 p 1

[Editorial: Iraq Crisis Room in Washington!]

[Excerpts] In order to find a way to rescue itself from the final destiny of the 41-month old war imposed by Iraq against the Islamic revolution and in view of the recent decisive operations, the regime in Baghdad is making an attempt to internationalize the issue. Even though there are very few sources still responsive to the desperate cries of the Ba'thist officials, given their history of 41 months of shouts and contradictory statements, bits of news are surfacing now about Washington's flirtations with more open aid to the Baghdad regime.

The first possibility is that Washington is trying to divert the backbreaking blows of the Islamic army against the Baghdad regime by opening a new front in the Persian Gulf and thus dividing the attention of the warriors of Islam. The formation of an Iraq crisis room in Washington and constant attention to the news is an attempt to let Washington know the chances of success in such an adventure.

U.S. politicians are not prepared to face a new defeat in the Persian Gulf after the degrading escape of the U.S. Marines from Beirut. This is because they know that the result of any intervention in the Persian Gulf will not be limited only to a political-military defeat in the area but will in fact raise questions about the political and even total existence of some of the regimes in the Persian Gulf. In other words, Washington's adventures in the region will change the military and political balance of the region to a new and irreversible equilibrium which will stabilize at a point that means the total destruction of U.S. interests in the entire region.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is never the one to start such things. However, it has learned all the techniques for opposing such conditions and knows how to change the enemies' mistakes to its advantage and establish a more secure situation. Islamic Iran, because of its interests in the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, is responsible for secure shipping in this vital waterway. However, should the time come when Washington or its allies including the Baghdad regime try to endanger the interest of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Persian Gulf, then they would have to first think of its repercussions. This is what the Iraqi regime did not take into consideration when it started the war.

One fundamental difference between the Persian Gulf and Lebanon is that when the U.S. Marines felt insecure in Beirut, they escaped and were placed on the U.S. fleet. However, they face a nation in the Persian Gulf that does not give a chance for the enemy to escape. The Iraqi army entered Iran expecting victory in 3 days and yet now the warriors of Islam will chase the aggressor enemy all the way to Baghdad. This means that the nations of the region decide the destiny of the aggressor and not the enemy. In addition any intervention by Washington in the Persian Gulf will give a good excuse to the Muslims of the region to destroy all U.S. interests in the area. It may be difficult for U.S. military and political experts to understand that Islamic Iran does not rely solely on material power. U.S. politicians are incapable of realizing the power of Islam.

In addition there are individuals who wish to expand the dimensions of the war on the basis of their superficial calculations and turn it into the "Persian Gulf War" so that they can rush to Baghdad's side. However, not only will this not aid the Baghdad regime but it will in fact put other regimes of the region in serious danger and it looks unlikely that Washington will try its luck in this respect.

This is because Washington is aware that the nations of the region will use this opportunity. The Tikriti Saddam would have been able to remain on the throne in Iraq using the power of the sword for years had he not attacked Islamic Iran. However, the warriors of Islam now have no choice but to bring down the Ba'thist regime and this is something that the U.S. politicians, even in the Iraq crisis room, can do nothing about. The coming days are very sensitive ones for the region and maybe another mistake by Washington can lead to another new victory for the Islamic revolution.

CSO: 4640/132



NVOI ASSAILS IRAN'S THREAT TO BLOCK HORMUZ STRAIT

TA242000 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 24 Feb 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Rulers of the Islamic Republic of Iran--Those Who Are Preparing the Ground for an Escalation of the U.S. and British Military Presence"]

[Excerpts] Dear Compatriots: The adventurous policy of rulers of the Islamic regime--who with demagoguery have raised the issue of the liberation of Jerusalem and Karbala, and who are raising such a hue and cry about blocking the Strait of Hormuz--has finally culminated in the U.S. and British imperialists sending a considerable part of their naval forces to the Gulf of Oman, the Arabian Sea and the waters off our country's shores under the pretext of safeguarding the security of shipping in the Strait of Hormuz and to confront the threats posed by Iran's regime.

Thus, under the pretext of liberating Jerusalem and Karbala, the Islamic regime--in addition to sending scores of thousands of Iranian youths to their death, and in addition to foisting numerous other destructions and devastations on our homeland's people--has prepared and continues to prepare the conditions for the escalation of the military presence of the U.S. and British imperialists in the region.

The hue and cry by the shortsighted and adventurous rulers of the Islamic regime with regard to closing the Strait of Hormuz waterway was only for the purpose of preparing the ground for the arrival of the naval forces of the U.S. and British imperialism in the waters of the Persian Gulf. This is the great service provided by the Government of the Islamic regime of Iran to the imperialists of world-devouring America and feeble British colonialism. Otherwise, authorities of the Islamic Republic themselves know better than anyone else that their hollow threats with regard to closing the Strait of Hormuz can never be realized. Moreover, imperialist monopolies have skillfully exploited the muscleflexing of the Islamic regime's rulers, and have exported and stockpiled so much oil from the region's countries that the closure of the Strait of Hormuz for a period of time will no longer have any effect on the situation of Western countries.

Nevertheless, U.S. and British warships and naval forces are headed for the waters of our region, and the danger of open military intervention by the U.S.

and British imperialists has increased more than even. It is not without reason that the Arab states of the Persian Gulf region have expressed concern over the possibility of U.S. intervention under the groundless pretext of safeguarding the waterways in the Strait of Hormuz.

The arrival of U.S. and British warships to the waters of the region--which will aggravate the situation of the region even further--is the outcome of service provided by the shortsighted and warmongering rulers of the Islamic regime of Iran to the world-devouring imperialists for the purpose of escalating their military presence in the region. The entrance of U.S. and British naval forces into the waters of our country's shores are also the result of treachery by rulers of the Islamic regime of Iran against the people and the Iranian nation's popular and anti-imperialist revolution. It is in view of these facts that our homeland's people condemn the warmongering as well as the childish and treacherous muscleflexing policy of the Islamic regime's rulers. Today, more than ever before, they are rising to defend the revolution and save its gains from the encroachments of the imperialists and from the treacherous assault by the cunning, superstitious and adventurous Islamic rulers.

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## BRIEFS

PRAYERS LEADER ON STUDENTS' PARTICIPATION--Washington, 3 Mar, IRNA--Muhammad al-Assi, [spelling as received] who led Friday prayers held on the pavements opposite to the Washington Mosque here, called on the participants to mobilise their forces against those who intended to establish a government opposing God's commands. Referring to the fear of reactionary regimes such as Tunisia, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt of participation of Muslim students in the this [as received] Friday prayers, al-Assi noted that those countries have warned their students that in case they participated in the prayers, their scholarship would be cut. It should be noted that on 5 March 1983, the U.S. armed police, and agents hired by ambassadors of reactionary states, broke into Washington Mosque and forced the congregational prayers leader there to evacuate from the place. Since then, in hot and cold weather and in spite of the threats of the U.S. police, Muslims have taken part in Friday prayers every week on the pavement opposite to the mosque. [Text] [LD030949 Tehran IRNA in English 0726 GMT 3 Mar 84]

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EDITORIAL DECRIES REMARKS ON SIND SEPARATISM

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Jan 84 p 10

[Editorial: "It Is Unbelievable!"]

[Text] It is no secret that the veteran politician G.M. Sayed was not pleased with the MRD's campaign for reinstatement of the 1973 constitution and democracy through elections in the near future. He does believe that it would make Pakistan strong and united. His purpose and mission in life, however, is not the establishment of stability or democracy in Pakistan but establishment of the so-called Sindhudesh. He has flatly told visitors that the establishment of democracy will harm his cause. What is unbelievable, however, is the kind of statements, made especially by University Grants Commission member Hameeda Khuhro, heard at a ceremony to mark Sayed's 81st birthday at Hyderabad. It is simply inconceivable that the daughter of the prominent Muslim League leader, who played an important role in the separation of Muslim Sind from Hindu Bombay and in establishing Pakistan, would think such thoughts, much less voice them aloud. She claimed that if a vote were taken, 99.9 percent of all Sindhis would opt for an independent Sind state. She added that Sindhis feel happy about the birthday of G.M. Sayed but are sad that they have been subjected to injustice and oppression. She added that Sindhis must not be cowards or they will face more oppression. The following comment was also attributed to her: "Attempts are being made to undermine Sindhi culture and language, but we will hold Sindhi seminars abroad." Just for argument, we can say that time changes people's opinions but it is impossible to think that such drastic changes could occur in the thinking of the daughter of the man who was instrumental in the establishment of Pakistan and Sind's inclusion in Pakistan and was its defense minister.

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CSO: 4656/82

## BALUCHIS BELIEVED READY FOR ELECTIONS

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Jan 84, pp 9, 12

[Article by Aziz Bhatti: "People Mentally Ready For Elections"]

[Text] It seems that people do believe that elections will take place before March '85. According to the official promise to hold elections in three stages and allow 72 days for campaigning, these elections should occur in 1984. The people are mentally ready for elections. Even if elections take place without any party system, political parties will play an important role indirectly. The politicians who have political or tribal influence in their territories cannot bear to lose control of this political vehicle. Such people either will run for office themselves or will appoint a candidate of their own choice. They will make sure that their man is elected, as is apparent from events in the recent municipal elections. It remains to be seen whether the present rulers take credit for the election, or give some credit to the politicians, but it appears that if elections are held on a non-party system, the politicians will not run on the same platform as the present rulers. The positive and negative results of elections, however, will be blamed on the rulers. The politicians will cooperate with the government if elections are held on a party basis. It is understood that a national "political government" is also possible before elections take place. A source revealed that there is a possibility of change in the federal cabinet. The positions of minister for local government, commerce and housing are vacant. Their duties are carried out by other ministers. Thus, three new ministers could be appointed, but none would be from Baluchistan since its quota in the cabinet is already full. It is hoped, however, that Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali, federal minister of state for food and agriculture, who is known as a "half minister," might be promoted to "full ministership." Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali's performance has been satisfactory to both the government and people. He is considered a politician in the federal cabinet and his statements reflect both a government and a political flavor. Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali is one of Baluchistan's representatives in Islamabad. He has established a precedent in not requiring appointments in advance for seeing him or the sending of a "chit" before coming over. The reception desk in the secretariate sends in Mr Jamali's visitors immediately while visitors to other ministers are delayed as clerks ask permission from private secretaries of the ministers if the visitor can be sent in.

In a recent interview with a weekly newspaper, Mr Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali said that there was no chance that elections would be postponed for a third time. He added that action should not be taken against any special political party. Personally, he believes in a non-party system. Mir Zafar Ullah was a minister in Baluchistan before this appointment and is considered an experienced minister. If elections take place, he will run from his home and the chances of his being elected seem to be bright. If his status in the cabinet is enhanced, it will have positive consequences. All this was brought to light in connection with the talk about expansion in the present cabinet and a restructuring of some departments. If a "political cabinet" is established, then it would be composed of members of political parties who agree with the government. The present love affair between the Muslim League (Pagara group) and Jamaat-e Islami does not seem to have much future. There is a possibility of strong political alliance among the Muslim League, Jamiatul Ulema-e Pakistan, Tahrik-e Istiqlal and Jamiatul Ulema-e Islam and this unity, if it comes about, will play an important role in national politics.

Begam Asghar Khan visited Quetta. Her mood indicates that the "political tree" of retired air marshal Asghar Khan is going to bear fruit soon. Begam Asghar Khan addressed political workers of her party and visited the families of workers who are in jail.

Haneef Ramay visited Baluchistan a week after Begam Asghar Khan's visit. Haneef Ramay is considered an important Punjabi politician by the groups practicing a certain brand of politics in Baluchistan. Were Nawab Akhbar Bugti and Mir Ghaush Bux Bizenjo present in Quetta, they would have met with Begam Asghar Khan and Haneef Ramay. Both of them, however, are in Karachi for medical treatment. It is expected that Nawab Bugti will get permission to go abroad for treatment and then perhaps Bizenjo will also be sent abroad. Nawab Khair Bux Marri and Ataullah Mengal have already gone abroad. Thus, four pillars of Baluchi politics will be out of the country at the time of the elections. Even if elections are held on a non-party basis, Saleem Bugti, Nawab Bugti's son, one of Mir Ghaush Bux's sons, nephews of Nawab Khair Bux Marri and Mir Mehrullah Menga, brother of Sardar Atau Allah Mengal will be among the candidates.

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END